6 Od. 961

UNIVERSITAS OXONIENSIS
DOMINUS ILLUMINATIO MEA

Printer's Library

WITHDRAWN
O.U.P.
BY ORDER

PLEASE RETURN

~~24 AUG 1966~~
10 ~~NOV 1966~~
5 ~~JAN 1968~~
15 ~~JAN 1968~~
16 ~~JAN 1968~~

~~£8-50~~

£2

ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

ARCHAEOLOGIA

OR

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

RELATING TO

ANTIQUITY

PUBLISHED BY THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

VOLUME XCVIII

(SECOND SERIES, VOLUME XLVIII)

PRINTED AT OXFORD
BY VIVIAN RIDLER FOR
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES
AND SOLD AT THE SOCIETY'S APARTMENTS IN BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON
M CM LXI

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

050 A

UNIVE [illegible] PRESS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I.—*The Wilton Diptych—A Re-examination. By* JOHN H. HARVEY, *Esq., F.S.A.* 1

II.—*The Jutish Style A. A Study of Germanic Animal Art in Southern England in the Fifth Century* A.D. *By* SONIA CHADWICK HAWKES, *F.S.A.* 29

III.—*The Trewhiddle Hoard. By* DAVID M. WILSON, *Esq., F.S.A., and* C. E. BLUNT, *Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.* 75

IV.—*The Palace of Westminster Sword. By* G. C. DUNNING, *Esq., F.S.A., and* VERA I. EVISON, *F.S.A.* 123

V.—*The Earlier Royal Funeral Effigies. New Light on Portraiture in Westminster Abbey. By the late* R. P. HOWGRAVE-GRAHAM, *Esq., F.S.A., M.I.E.E.* 159

Index 171

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

THE WILTON DIPTYCH—A RE-EXAMINATION:

FIG. 1. Shield and helm from back of right panel. 13

I. *a.* The Wilton Diptych, left panel; *b.* right panel.
II. The Wilton Diptych, back of left panel.
III. Infra-red photograph of left panel.
IV. Infra-red photograph of right panel.
V. Infra-red photograph of back of right panel.
VI. Infra-red photograph of back of left panel.
VII. Winchester College. Surviving fragments from original glass of east window of Chapel, dated *c.* 1393.
VIII. *a.* Winchester College, surviving panel from east window of Chapel. *b.* surviving panel of King 'Josaphat' from Jesse Tree in east window of Chapel.
IX. Winchester College, reassembled panel of St. John Baptist and King Richard II from east window of Chapel.
X. *a.* Westminster Hall, corbel of main truss. Work of 1395 to design of Henry Yevele. *b*, *c.* Chained hart from internal cornice, 1395; and spandrel of north porch, *c.* 1398.
XI. *a.* Winchester College, statue over Outer Gate, *c.* 1395. *b.* Head of Richard II from label stop of east window of Chapel, *c.* 1394. *c.* Seal of Thomas de Holland, Earl of Kent.
XII. *a.* Polyptych formerly in the Venerable English College, Rome. Figure of Queen Anne of Bohemia. *b.* Figure of King Richard II. From S. Petra-Sancta: *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (1638).
XIII. Details of figures from *Das goldene Rösslin* at Altötting, Bavaria, made in Paris not later than 1403.

following 27

THE JUTISH STYLE A. A STUDY OF GERMANIC ANIMAL ART IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND IN THE FIFTH CENTURY A.D.:

FIG. 1. No. 5. Disc brooch, Faversham, Kent. 33
FIG. 2. No. 12. Strap-end, Chessell Down, I.O.W., grave 3. . . . 37
FIG. 3. No. 13. Belt-plate, Cursley Hill, Bishopstone, Bucks. . . . 37
FIG. 4. No. 16. Francisca with decorated plate, Howletts, Kent. . . . 38
FIG. 5. No. 18. Penannular brooch, Lyminge, Kent, grave 10. . . . 40
FIG. 6. No. 19. Quoit brooch, High Down, Sussex, grave 60. . . . 40
FIG. 7. No. 20. Scabbard chape, Brighthampton, Oxfordshire, grave 31. . . 40
FIG. 8. Details of Jutish Style A animal figures.
1, Faversham (No. 5); 2, Bifrons (No. 4); 3–4, Howletts (No. 3); 5–6, Howletts (No. 2); 7–8, Sarre (No. 1); 9, Alfriston (No. 8); 10, Cursley Hill, Bishopstone (No. 13); 11, Croydon (No. 9). 43
FIG. 9. Distribution of Jutish Style A and related metalwork. . . . 45
FIG. 10. Silver finger-ring, Guildown, Surrey, grave 206. 49

FIG. 11. Bronze buckle-loop from Alwalton, Hunts. 54

FIG. 12. Decorative friezes on Scandinavian metalwork of the third and fourth centuries A.D. 1. Thorsbjerg. 2. Himlingøje. 3. Lilla Jøred. 4. Brokjaer. . 62

FIG. 13. Details of the animal figures on the relief brooch from Nordheim, Hedrum parish, Vestfold, Norway. 65

XIV. Quoit brooch from Sarre, Kent.

XV. *a.* No. 3. Quoit brooch from Howletts, Kent. *b.* No. 2. Fragmentary quoit brooch from Howletts, grave 13. *c.* No. 4. Pair of pendants from Bifrons, Kent.

XVI. *a.* No. 6. Disc brooch from Higham, Kent. *b.* No. 7. Strap-end from Bifrons, Kent. *c.* No. 8. Buckle and plates from Alfriston, Sussex, grave 17. *d.* No. 10. Buckle and plate from High Down, Sussex, grave 34.

XVII. *a.* No. 9. Tubular object from Croydon, Surrey. *b.* No. 11. Belt slide from High Down, grave 12. *c.* No. 14. Belt plate from Howletts. *d.* No. 15. Bucket mounts from Bidford-on-Avon, Warwicks. *e.* No. 17. Penannular brooch from Alfriston, grave 43.

following 40

XVIII. *a.* Detail of the animal decoration on the shield boss from Herpály, Hungary. *b.* Detail of the decoration on the Petersburg helmet. *c.* Detail of the decoration on the helmet from Gammertingen, Hohenzollern.

XIX. *a.* Headplate of the relief brooch from Nordheim, Hedrum, Vestfold, Norway. *b.* Headplate of the relief brooch from Hol, Inderøy, Nord Trøndelag, Norway. *c.* Equal-armed brooch from Holmgaard bog, Viborg, Jutland. *d.* Fragmentary headplate of plate brooch from Meilby, Aalborg, Jutland.

XX. *a.* Detail of the gold collar from Ålleberg, Västergotland, Sweden. *b.* Detail of the gold bracteate from Lyngby, Randers, Jutland. *c.* The decorated mount of the gold bracteate from Gerete, Gotland, Sweden.

XXI. *a.* Buckle and plate from Dorchester, Oxon. *b.* Object from Sösdala, Scania, Sweden. *c.* Detail of square-headed brooch from Bifrons. *d.* Chip-carved strap-end from Amiens. *e.* Fragment of strap-end from Ixworth, Suffolk. *f.* Bow-brooch from Bifrons. *g.* Belt-plate from Icklingham, Suffolk. *h.* Disc brooch from St. John's cricket field, Cambridge. *i.* Animal-stamped pottery from Markshall, Norfolk.

following 74

THE TREWHIDDLE HOARD:

FIG. 1. The ornament of certain objects from the Trewhiddle hoard. . . 77

FIG. 2. The ornament of the pin-head. 83

FIG. 3. The Trewhiddle chalice; (*a*) present condition, (*b*) reconstruction, (*c*) sectional reconstruction of the foot. 89

FIG. 4. Trichinopoly chainwork. 93

FIG. 5. Anglo-Saxon animal ornament, fifth–ninth centuries; *a.* Bidford-on-Avon. *b.* Faversham. *c.* Sutton Hoo. *d.* Lindisfarne Gospels. *e.* Källby, Sweden. *f-i.* Trewhiddle hoard. 100

FIG. 6. Coins for comparison with Eanred penny. 115

XXII. The Trewhiddle Hoard as illustrated in the Minute book of the Society of Antiquaries.

XXIII. *a.* The large and the second mount. *b.* The small mount. *c.* The strap-ends. *d.* The box-like object.

following 122

XXIV. *a.* Terminals of the second mount. *b.* Terminals of the large mount. *c.* The pin, with details of the head.
XXV. The chalice, with views of the knop and base.
XXVI. *a.* The scourge. *b.* Strap-ends and belt-loops. *c.* The billet of gold. *d.* The buckle.
XXVII. *a.* The base of the chalice with the collar inside and an enlarged detail of the collar. *b.* The gold pendant. *c.* Finger-ring with quatrefoil bezel. *d.* Faceted finger-ring.
XXVIII. *a.* The Hexham chalice. *b.* The penannular brooch.
XXIX. *a.* Gold pendant from Hon, Norway. *b.* The Burghead mount. *c.* Strap-end from Cricklade, Wilts. *d.* Strap-end from Whitby, Yorks.
XXX. Horse-bit trappings from Källby, Skåne, Sweden.
XXXI. Coins from the Trewhiddle hoard. *following* 122

THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER SWORD:

FIG. 1. Sketch-map of Westminster, showing the find-spot of the sword in relation to Thorney Island, the River Tyburn, and the Thames. 124
FIG. 2. The Palace of Westminster sword. 127
FIG. 3. Group 1*a*: 1. Suffelweihersheim, near Strasbourg; 2. Vestre Grini, Gjerpen, Telemark; 3. Østby, Sigdal, Buskerud. Group 1*b*: 4. Nedre Bakkene, Nord Aurdal, Opland; 5. Nøstegård, Lesja, Opland. Group 1*c*: 6. Halle, Brunlanes, Vestfold; 7. Rhine at Speyer. Group 1*d*: 8. Steinsvik, Lødingen, Nordland; 9. Håheim, Jolster, Sogn og Fjordane. Group 2*a*: 10. Rhine at Mannheim. Group 2*b*: 11. Wijk bij Duurstede, Holland. Group 2*c*: 12. Termonde, Belgium 133
FIG. 4. De Wierhuizen, gem. Appingedam. 135
FIG. 5. Maarhuizen, gem. Winsum, Groningen. 135
FIG. 6. Distribution of swords, Group 1 and Group 2. 138
FIG. 7. Animal design on the gold ring, Ashmolean Museum. . . . 147
FIG. 8. Silver hanging bowl from the River Witham at Lincoln. . . . 152
FIG. 9. Sculptured stone slab, Wamphray, Dumfries. 155
XXXII. *a.* The Houses of Parliament, Westminster. *b.* View of the excavation.
XXXIII. *a.* Palace of Westminster sword. *b.* The hilt, top of scabbard, and blade. *c.* Part of the pattern-welded blade after cleaning.
XXXIV. *a, b.* Suffelweihersheim. *c, d.* The Rhine at Speyer.
XXXV. *a.* Halle, Vestfold. *b.* Boat-chamber grave, Hedeby.
XXXVI. *a.* Steinsvik. *b, c.* Reverse, slightly enlarged.
XXXVII. *a.* Håheim. *b.* Meuse, near Aalburg. *c.* Enlargement of inlaid plate with animal ornament.
XXXVIII. *a.* Rhine at Mannheim. *b.* Reading, Berks.
XXXIX. *a.* Wijk bij Duurstede, Holland. *b.* Termonde, Belgium.
XL. *a.* Detail of guard on Mannheim sword. *b.* Detail of guard on Westminster sword.
XLI. Fetter Lane hilt.
XLII. Fetter Lane hilt. *following* 158

XLIII. *a*. Windsor pommel. *b*. Windsor pommel, oblique view. *c*, *d*. Gold ring, Ashmolean Museum.
XLIV. Gold ornament and pendant from Hon, Norway.
XLV. *a*. Gold discs, Lilla Howe, Yorks. *b*. Silver sword pommel from the Seine at Paris.
XLVI. *a*. Bronze strip, Castor, Northants. *b*. Canterbury Cross. *following* 158

THE EARLIER ROYAL FUNERAL EFFIGIES:

XLVII. *a*. The 'Ragged Regiment'. *b*. Head of Edward III before treatment. *c*. Edward III undergoing treatment, showing paint and injection-holes. *d*. Edward III after treatment, showing distortion of the mouth.
XLVIII. *a*. Ear of Anne of Bohemia after cleaning. *b*. Anne of Bohemia; head before treatment. *c*. Anne of Bohemia: head after cleaning but before renewal of nose. *d*. Anne of Bohemia after cleaning and repair.
XLIX. *a*. Katherine of Valois, showing groove made for the crown. *b*. Katherine of Valois, cleaned but not rebuilt. *c*. Katherine of Valois cleaned and restored. *d*. Left hand of Elizabeth of York before treatment. *e*. Hand of Elizabeth of York cleaned.
L. *a*. Head of Elizabeth of York before treatment. *b*. Head and bust of Elizabeth of York undergoing treatment. *c*. Head and bust of Elizabeth of York cleaned and repaired. *d*. Head and bust of Elizabeth of York in modern wig and bodice.
LI. *a*. Disintegrating effigy of Henry VII. *b*. Flowers found among the hay stuffing of the effigy of Henry VII. *c*. State of the head of Henry VII before treatment. *d*. Profile of Henry VII before treatment.
LII. *a*. Nose of Henry VII from (above) bronze effigy by Torrigiani and (below) terra-cotta bust in the Victoria and Albert Museum. *b*. Comparison of the two noses in relation to the face. *c*. Head of Henry VII in process of treatment. *d*. Head of Henry VII after treatment.
LIII. *a*. Head of Mary Tudor before removal from body. *b*. Head and bust of Anne of Denmark; profile. *c*. Head of Anne of Denmark; full face. *following* 169

The Wilton Diptych—A Re-examination

By JOHN H. HARVEY, Esq., F.S.A.

[*Read 7th February 1957*]

THE Wilton Diptych (pls. i, ii) is in quality the most outstanding painting known from the English middle ages. Its unique interest has produced a massive literature, much of it concerned with stylistic problems and with purely theoretical interpretations. Little can be added to the meticulous description of Sir George Scharf,[1] while only one major contribution has been made to the historical analysis of the painting's heraldic data, by the late Miss Maud Clarke.[2] This heraldic analysis offered abundant evidence of approximate date, yet the subsequent literature has failed to take adequate account of the limits set, and a fundamental reassessment of the facts is overdue.[3]

Such a reassessment starts from a strong prima facie case, whose leading features may here be summarized:

1. The work concerns King Richard II who reigned from 1377 to 1399, was deposed, and died early in 1400; or, according to his partisans, not until late in 1419.[4]

2. The personal badge of the White Hart with golden antlers, gorged with a crown and chained, and the arms attributed to Edward the Confessor impaling the quartered royal arms of France Ancient and England, do not merely indicate Richard II but clearly imply that the object on which they appear was made to his dictation, and almost certainly for his personal possession.[5] Unless convincing evidence is produced to show why these personal emblems, of the sovereign at that, should have been placed

---

[1] George Scharf, *Description of the Wilton House Diptych* (Arundel Society, 1882).

[2] M. V. Clarke in *Burlington Magazine*, lviii (1931), 283 ff.; reprinted in *Fourteenth Century Studies* (1937), pp. 272–92.

[3] Since the publication of Miss Clarke's paper there have been a number of outstanding discussions of the Diptych. Those of E. W. Tristram in *The Month* (1949), n.s. i, 379–90; ii, 18–36, and in *English Wall-Painting of the Fourteenth Century* (1955), pp. 55–56; and of Joan Evans in *Archaeological Journal*, cv (1950), 1–5, in *English Art 1307–1461* (Oxford History of English Art, v, 1949), pp. 102–4, and in *L'Œil*, Christmas 1956, pp. 18–23, this last with sumptuous coloured plates, favour early dates (*c.* 1377 and 1389 respectively); those by E. Panofsky in *Early Netherlandish Painting* (1953), i, 118; and by F. Wormald in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xvii (1954), 191–203, plead for dates after 1400 (probably *c.* 1413–15), in this following a line of argument suggested by W. A. Shaw in *Burlington Magazine*, lxv (1934), 171–84, and by V. H. Galbraith in *History*, n.s. xxvi (Mar. 1942), 237–8. The best summing-up of the picture is that by T. Bodkin, *The Wilton Diptych* (1947), and there have been serious accounts of it by M. Davies in *National Gallery Catalogue: French School* (1946), pp. 46–49 (the revised edition of 1957, pp. 92–101, contains a much enlarged discussion of all the available evidence); and by M. Rickert in *Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages* (1954), pp. 170–2. The recent literature also includes studies by M. Galway in *Archaeological Journal*, cvii (1952), 9–14; and by J. H. Harvey in *Gothic England* (1947), pp. 63–65, and in an exchange of letters with E. W. Tristram in *The Month*, n.s. ii (1949), 433–5; iii (1950), 234–8.

[4] For the view that Richard II escaped and survived until 1419 see P. Fraser-Tytler, *History of Scotland* (3rd ed., 1845), ii, 459–511. Tytler's case has been well refuted; for a summing-up see *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, iv (1880), pp. lxv–lxix.

[5] This is the normal purpose of armorial bearings, and any exceptional usage requires to be justified by explicit evidence. The point has been made in relation to the Diptych by Joan Evans (*Archaeological Journal*, cv, 5; *L'Œil*, Christmas 1956, p. 19) and by Tristram (*The Month*, 1949, i, 382; ii, 19), but has otherwise been insufficiently stressed in the literature.

on a work not made for their possessor, they must be accepted as a controlling factor of date and purpose.

3. The lack of other heraldic emblems precludes any purpose not immediately related to Richard II himself,[1] and suggests a date when the king was unmarried: the picture should belong to one of three periods, between 21st June 1377 and 6th January 1382; between 7th June 1394 and 1st November 1396; or, if the partisan case be accepted, after 13th September 1409, when Isabella of France died.[2]

4. An indication of the Diptych's purpose is given by its portable character: entirely consistent with its having been made for the king to carry with him; but only with difficulty reconciled to a fixed situation such as the permanent altar of a chapel or chantry.[3]

No evidence seems ever to have been brought to controvert these presumptions, apart from stylistic arguments. The validity of purely stylistic criticism must be considered dubious, since the whole period 1377–1419 covers only forty-three years, well within the working career of a single painter. There are too few dated works in any way comparable with the Diptych to allow to their evidence any primacy over that of other kinds.

Consideration of the Diptych must fall under three main heads: (1) the history of the painting since its production; (2) its probable date and authorship; and (3) its purpose. The first certain mention of the picture occurs in the catalogue of Charles I's collection made in 1639 by Abraham Vander Doort, who states that the king had the painting of one Lady Jenings by the means of Sir James Palmer in exchange for the king's own portrait in oils by 'Liffens'.[4] Hence the acquisition took place by 1639 and not earlier than 1632, when the king could first have been painted by Jan Lievens or Livens, who spent two or three years at the English court between 1632 and 1635, and painted Charles I and his queen.[5]

The question of provenance thus amounts to the inquiry: who, at that time, was Lady Jenings? It has been shown that Sir James Palmer's daughter Vere married a certain Thomas Jenyngs, son of Sir John Jenyngs;[6] but there were in fact two Lady Jenyngs then living: Vere's mother-in-law Dorothy, widow of Sir John Jenyngs the elder, who had died in 1609; and Alice Lady Jenyngs, wife of Sir John Jenyngs the younger, the elder Sir John's son by his first wife.[7]

[1] Such as a gift made for presentation to a religious house or to a private individual. It may be admitted that a portable diptych made for occasional use at an altar (e.g. for keeping the anniversary of Richard's death) might bear his arms and badges and no others, but for the difficulties in regarding the Diptych as a memorial picture see below, pp. 13–14 and footnotes, p. 13 n. 5, p. 19 n. 5.

[2] For the dates the best authority is still H. Wallon, *Richard II* (Paris, 1864), i, 4, 117; ii, 81, 446, 536. A. Steel, *Richard II* (1941), a political history, should also be consulted for the background of the reign in the light of modern research.

[3] Several diptychs, some of goldsmith's work and at least one painted, are listed in the inventories of the English Royal Treasury (F. Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury*, 1836, iii, 313, 344, 345, 346, 349). I am indebted to Mr. Christopher Hohler for informing me that he has found very few references to small altar-pieces of painted panels in English records, and for the inference that portable folding diptychs may have been a continental fashion.

[4] Mrs. R. Lane-Poole in *Antiquaries Journal*, xi (1931), 145–59; cf. Scharf, *op. cit.* pp. 7–9. A new edition of Vander Doort's catalogue, edited by Mr. Oliver Millar, appears as Walpole Society, vol. xxxvii (1960).

[5] H. Schneider, *Jan Lievens, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Haarlem, 1932), pp. 4, 145.

[6] The first published identification with the Jenyngs family seems to have been made by the late W. A. Shaw in *The Times*, 22 June 1929; see also G. Reynolds in *Burlington Magazine*, July 1949, xci, 196–7, and n. 4 above.

[7] H. C. Andrews, 'Notes on the Roulett and Jennings Families' in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 5th ser., viii (1932–4), 88–108.

Dorothy Lady Jenyngs did not die until 1649, having remarried John Latch;[1] Alice not until 1663,[2] and either could be the Lady Jenyngs who had owned the Wilton Diptych before 1639. It might be thought that Dorothy's remarriage (the date of which is not established) would have deprived her of her title, but at that period such titles were retained by courtesy;[3] and whereas no reason for the Diptych being described as the property of Alice, rather than of her living husband, can be suggested, Dorothy had succeeded to the personal property of the first Sir John. In any case, all the available wills of the ancestors of the two Lady Jenyngs and their husbands have been read in the hope of finding some reference to the painting.[4] This hope has so far been disappointed, but several suggestive facts occur in a particular group of wills. Dorothy's husband was the grandson of Barnard Jenyns, citizen and skinner of London, who died in 1552. Among Barnard Jenyns's bequests were these: 'To Elyn my wife her own apparel with Ringes, bedys, gyrdles, Juells of gold and silver, and a lytle cheyn of gold enammeled of the weight of two ounces with an harte of gold hanging on the same cheyn', and 'to my brother William Jenyns . . . a standing Cupp gilt with a Cover weying xxxviij ounces with three harts standing in the toppe of the same couer'.[5]

Whence did Barnard Jenyns acquire these pieces featuring harts? None of the earlier wills in his family suggests the possession of such treasures. But his first wife Elizabeth was a daughter of Ralph Rowlett, goldsmith and Merchant of the Staple of Calais, who died in 1543, leaving important 'ornaments belonging to my aulter at Corambery', as well as ornaments of altars elsewhere and much household stuff.[6] The wills show that by 1595 the elder John Jenyngs had inherited through various channels much of Rowlett's personal property including valuables from several of his houses.[7] On Sir John Jenyngs's death intestate in 1609, his widow Dorothy was granted letters of administration, and an Inquisition post mortem shows that valuable plate was included.[8] Probate inventories, if they survive, are not accessible,[1] so that it is impossible at present to test whether the Diptych did in fact form part of this estate.

---

[1] E. Hailstone, *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Bottisham* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8vo, Publ., 1873), p. 118.

[2] The will of Alice Jennings of the City of London, widow of Sir John Jennings, K.B., made on 26 Dec. 1661, was proved on 30 May 1663 by her son Ralph Jennings (P.C.C. 65 Juxon). The will bequeaths to her brother, Sir Brockett Spencer, 'my owne Picture which Holler drew and my daughter Anne picture'. Sir John Jennyns, K.B., of Hallywell, St. Albans, made his will on 21 Mar. 1638/9; it was proved by his widow on 9 Aug. 1642 (P.C.C. 105 Campbell).

[3] This usage is abundantly confirmed by descriptions given in the official calendars and registers of wills. Mr. Martin Davies kindly informs me that Mr. E. S. de Beer quotes the specific instance of Lady Cotton, wife of the brother of the diarist John Evelyn.

[4] For the wills and genealogical information see Appendix I.

[5] P.C.C. 15 Powell. In isolation, the emblem of the chain might be regarded as a heart (though in this sense the spelling *hart(e)* was becoming relatively uncommon); but this is rendered most improbable by the reference to a cup whose cover bore three standing harts.

[6] P.C.C. 17 Spert.

[7] By 1564 Barnard Jenyns's son Ralph was the only surviving male of the Jenyns family, and in 1571 he was left by his childless uncle Sir Ralph Rowlett 'all my household stuff in my mansion house called Hallywell' by St. Albans, the Manor of Sandridge and the house of Halywell itself (P.C.C. 33 Holney; printed abstract by H. C. Andrews (see p. 2, n. 7 above)). Sir Ralph had himself inherited from his brother Amphabell or Affabell Rowlett, who died in 1546, 'all my goods of my house of Gorhambury' (abstract of will, Society of Genealogists, D. MSS. 'Families—Rowlett'), which he had been left by his father, the first Ralph Rowlett. Ralph Jenyns died in 1572 leaving all his jewels and the like to his son Thomas (who died without issue in 1595), with remainder to his own son John (i.e. Sir John Jenyngs the elder). (P.C.C. 14 Daper.)

[8] P.C.C. 93 Wood. In the Public Record Office are two Inquisitions taken after Sir John Jenyngs had become a lunatic (C. 142/297/160; 298/63) and a normal Inquisition post mortem of 23 Apr. 1610 (C. 142/318/156), stating that he had died on 2 Oct. 1609 and that his heir was John Jenyns, aged 13 on 20 May 1609. Sir John's manor of

Besides Gorhambury, Ralph Rowlett acquired at the Dissolution many Hertfordshire estates which had belonged to St. Albans Abbey, as well as the manor of Hyde in Abbots Langley, which he bought from the duke of Norfolk in 1539.[2] It is a striking coincidence that, while Gorhambury had belonged to Richard II's closest personal friend, Robert de Vere, 9th earl of Oxford,[3] Hyde was the home of John Montague, earl of Salisbury, who lost his life in 1400 in the loyal outbreak on Richard's behalf.[4] Both manors were within three or four miles of Richard's favourite residence of King's Langley.

Passing to consideration of the Diptych's date, it must first be established that the work is a unit; for suggestions have been made that front and back are not contemporary,[5] or that the collars and badges worn by the king and the angels are later additions.[6] Dr. W. G. Constable stated that 'there is no technical reason for thinking that the back of the diptych is of later date . . .; in fact, all the technical evidence points to it having been painted at the same time'.[7] This verdict is supported by the way in which the gesso and the red bole undercoating cover the whole of the mouldings and panels on both sides and continue over the edges; by the identical character of the pounced work; and by the use of what are, to all appearance, identical pigments. It can now, moreover, be proved by the use of infra-red photography (pls. III–VI) that the collars and badges belong to the original sketch on which the painted surface is superimposed: identical underdrawing can be seen in the case of some of the hands and of the collars and badges.[8] In the technique used the device of distinguishing a profile or outline with a thin black line is found both on front and back.[9] Moreover, the groups of small flowers which appear on the front and also beneath the hart on the back (pls. I*b*, II, IV, VI), are drawn in the same unusual convention which makes them

---

Sandridge, Herts., and properties in Wiltshire, Somerset, and the city of Bristol are mentioned, while at his dwelling in 'le Strond' in Middlesex (the Strand, London) was silver plate weighing 313 oz., viz.: 'one basen and ewer parcell gilte, two little lady pots parcell gilte, two bowles all guilte, one salte with a Cover, two scoopes guilte, two silver bowles, a silver salte with a cover, twelve spoones and a silver porenger.'

[1] Such P.C.C. Inventories as survived war-damage are in chronological confusion and cannot at present be produced. I am indebted to Mr. D. A. Newton, Secretary of the Principal Probate Registry, and to Mr. J. R. Whitfield, for information as to these inventories.

[2] *Victoria County History Hertfordshire*, ii, 325, 355, 369, 400, 404, 417, 425, 433-7; iii, 218, 245-6; iv, 38, 40-41. The property included the Manors of Gorhambury, Newnham, Pray, Napsbury, Sandridge, and Caldecote, and the advowsons of Redbourn and St. Michael's, all of which had belonged to St. Albans Abbey; and the Manors of Hoares and Hyde bought from the Duke of Norfolk.

[3] *V.C.H. Herts.* ii, 394.

[4] *Ibid.* ii, 325.

[5] For example, by Joan Evans in *Archaeological Journal*, cv, 4.

[6] By M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain . . .*, p. 172. I here withdraw, in face of the evidence of infra-red photography, my own earlier suggestion that 'the golden collars would probably be among the last details to be added' (*Gothic England*, p. 65).

[7] In *Burlington Magazine*, July 1929, lv, 42.

[8] Photographs by infra-red light and by X-rays were taken by the National Gallery in 1955–6, and the new facts have been published in the 1957 edition of the *Catalogue of the French School* (pp. 92–93) by Mr. Martin Davies, to whom I am much indebted for a pre-view of the evidence.

[9] Owing to the larger scale of the detail on the back, the black lines are wider and less carefully drawn, but are of the same character. Note especially the line drawing of the lion as crest. This technique of the black outline seems not to be very common, but is found also in the illumination of Thomas Occleve presenting his book to Prince Henry (British Museum, Arundel MS. 38, f. 37), illustrated in Rickert, *op. cit.*, pl. 169 c. Outlining of decoration occurs in some fourteenth-century Bohemian paintings, notably the Adoration of the Magi from the Vyssi Brod Cycle (reproduced in colour in A. Matějček and J. Pešina: *Czech Gothic Painting 1350–1450*, Prague, 1950, pl. 9), where the form of the crowns also is close to those of the Diptych.

look like tiny toadstools. There is no longer any possible doubt that the whole Diptych was produced in one shop and in one operation, though not necessarily by a single hand.[1]

From the heraldry and badges displayed, it has been shown that there are strong reasons for regarding the date as not earlier than 1395.[2] The instances of use already listed can be buttressed by independent evidence of a system: new badges and new forms of the royal arms were matter of policy, of which the most noteworthy instance is the assumption by Edward III of the arms of France when he formally claimed the French throne in 1340. In the same year the Palace of Westminster was being ornamented with 'the quartered arms of the King of England and France';[3] while from the beginning of Henry IV's reign the eagle made its appearance,[4] and in his first year payments were made for working rich cloths and cushions with his arms and livery collar.[5]

The use of the arms attributed to Edward the Confessor impaled with the royal arms was traced back by Miss Clarke with certainty to October 1395, when King Richard made use of a signet of St. Edward, impressions of which exist,[6] but a semi-official linking of the Confessor's arms with those of the king and queen had taken place over two years earlier, in May 1393, when the Masters of London Bridge paid Thomas Wreuk, mason, for carving images of the king and queen and three shields of arms, of the king, the queen, and St. Edward, *at the king's orders*, for placing above the stone gateway on London Bridge.[7] Similarly, the Confessor's arms appear separately in the new work of Westminster Hall, begun by January 1393/4,[8] and specifically on stone corbels ordered in March 1394/5.[9] There was, therefore, a short period, lasting from 1393 to 1395, when the Confessor's arms were used separately, but do not seem to have been impaled with the royal arms. It may be that after his queen's death Richard adopted the impalement as a sign that he was now wedded solely to the royal tradition of England.

---

[1] The arms on the shield are less carefully drawn than the details of the other panels, but this panel necessarily presents the contrast of pure heraldry on a fairly large scale to the small-scale pictorial treatment of the other three. While it is intrinsically likely that the heraldry would be painted by another artist, there is nothing to suggest that it was added at another time, nor any trace of repainting of an earlier coat, which in that case would surely have existed.

[2] By M. V. Clarke; see p. 1, n. 2 above.

[3] P.R.O., E. 101/470/7: 'armis quadratis Regis Anglie et Francie.'

[4] *Ibid.* 502/24: 'cum Genestres, Ernes et rotulis infrascriptis Soueraigne.' The use of the eagle was traced back to Edward III and John of Gaunt by the late H. Stanford London, *Royal Beasts* (1956), p. 61; but there is nothing to suggest its use as a badge by Richard II. The political poem *Mum and the Sothsegger* (ed. M. Day and R. Steele, Early English Text Society, vol. 199, 1936) makes it clear that Henry of Lancaster (Henry IV) was referred to as 'the Eagle' at the end of Richard's reign. A painted figure of an eagle was made to stand on the new conduit outside Westminster Hall on the day of Henry IV's coronation (E. 101/473/11).

[5] F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer* (1837), p. 274.

[6] For example, attached to Richard's will (P.R.O., E. 23/1); the arms attributed to the Confessor impale the quartered arms of France Ancient and England. See T. F. Tout, *Chapters . . .*, v, 204, 448, pl. iv, fig. 6; H. Maxwell Lyte, *The Great Seal of England*, pp. 116–17; and for the will, below, p. 18, n. 3.

[7] Corporation of London Records Office, Bridge-Masters' Account Rolls, 12 (1392–3), xxxiii, xli, xlv, xlvii, xlviii, l, li, lii. The first of these items, dated to Saturday 10 May 1393, reads: 'Item solutum Thome Wreuk lathomo in partem solucionis pro factura et operacione .ij. ymaginum de Rege et Regina petris liberis ad ponend. supra portam lapideam super Pontem cum .iij. Scutis de armis Regis et Regine et Sancti Edwardi et cum grossis tabernaculis per preceptum domini Regis Lx.s.' Wreuk was paid £10 in all for the job, and a certain painter (*cuidam pictori*) £20 for painting the images, shields and tabernacles, while 20*s*. was paid for two gilt latten sceptres ('pro .ij. septris de laton. et deauratis emptis pro ymaginibus prescriptis').

[8] A. Pugin, *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (1821), i, 24, pl. 33, 35; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England): *London*, ii (1925), 121, pl. 174. The external and much of the internal masonry was renewed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but there is evidence that the heraldic charges were copied with some care. The new work of the hall was put under the charge of John Godmeston as clerk of the works and Hugh Herland as carpenter and controller on 21 Jan. 1393/4 (*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1391–6, p. 349).

[9] The new stone cornice and the twenty-six stone corbels were made by the masons Richard Washbourne and John Swalwe under a contract of 18 Mar. 1394/5 (E.

According to Froissart the assumption of the arms of St. Edward had taken place during the year preceding July 1395; while throughout the king's Irish expedition, which had landed at Waterford on 2nd October 1394, the Irish were won over by the name and reputation of the Confessor.[1] Froissart is supported by the records. Inventories of royal plate from the reign of Edward III and the early years of Richard II do not mention the arms of St. Edward.[2] The book of the Keeper of the Wardrobe of the King's Household for the year to 30th September 1393[3] describes many pieces with the quartered arms of England and France, including twenty pieces newly made and another fourteen pieces specified as made in the year 17 Richard II, i.e. between 22nd June and 30th September 1393, but there is still no mention of the Confessor's arms. But an enrolled inventory covering the years September 1393–6, and the next surviving book, for the year Michaelmas 1395–6, show that by September 1395 about a dozen pieces of new plate displayed the arms of St. Edward impaling England and France (*arma Sancti Edwardi et Anglie et Francie partita*), while fresh purchases during the year to 30th September 1396 included no less than eighty pieces of plate marked with these arms.[4] This sudden spate of articles bearing the arms recently adopted, accompanied by the breaking up of old plate, fully confirms 1395 as the earliest time when the arms on the back of the Diptych could have been employed. It is unlikely that this campaign of use of the impaled arms began until the king had returned from Ireland in May 1395, for the Confessor's arms were still used separately in the work at Westminster Hall ordered only two months before Richard was back.

The inventories show that the white hart had appeared earlier, supporting the statement that Richard first assumed this badge at the Smithfield tournament held in October 1390.[5] In 1392–3 there were four pieces bearing a hart, and we know from

---

101/473/21, printed in L. F. Salzman, *Building in England*, 1952, p. 472), according to designs by Master Henry Yevele, half to be completed by 24 June 1395 and the rest by 2 Feb. 1395/6. For the masons and carpenter of the hall see J. H. Harvey, *English Mediaeval Architects* (1954).

[1] Froissart, *Œuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, xv (Brussels, 1871), p. 180; cf. Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 83. The possibility that the Confessor's Arms might have been first impaled before the death of Anne of Bohemia is suggested by stained glass in the north chantry chapel of Westwell Church, Kent (R. Griffin in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xlvii, 1935, 170 ff.), where the arms of the Confessor are twice impaled: once with those attributed to St. Edmund (Azure three crowns or). The other shield contains a double impalement: the Confessor's arms impaling France Ancient and England quarterly impale the Empire quartering Bohemia. But it seems more likely that the glass commemorates a royal interest in the work soon after Anne's death but before Richard's second marriage. For Richard's use of Anne's badges after her death see below; and for his probable use of her arms posthumously, p. 20.

[2] The enrolled accounts of the Keeper of the Wardrobe of the Household for the whole of Richard II's reign are contained in P.R.O., E. 361/5, rot. 21 dorse ff. The earliest mention of the arms of St. Edward occurs in an account covering plate newly made between 30 Sept. 1393 and 30 Sept. 1396 (rot. 24).

[3] P.R.O., E. 101/403/22, f. 1 ff., f. 5^v, f. 7; the Controller's book also survives for this year: British Museum, Add. MS. 35115. The normal description is 'cum armis Anglie et Francie quartellatis', which is applied without exception to the pieces of new plate made in the year 17 Ric. II.

[4] E. 361/5, rot. 24; E. 101/403/10, ff. 55–60 (bound after f. 6), f. 38. The formula used is 'signat. armis Sancti Edwardi et Anglie et Francie partitis'. Among old silver vessels sent to London goldsmiths for breaking up, in part exchange for new, were some 'signat. armis quartellatis'.

[5] Monk of Evesham: *Historia vitae et regni Ricardi II*, ed. T. Hearne (1729), p. 122: 'Ubi datum erat primo signum vel stigma illud egregium cum Cervo Albo, cum corona et cathena aurea.' Brooches of white harts had been pawned by Richard to the City of London in 1379 (H. T. Riley, *Memorials of London*, 1868, pp. 429, 443, 550; cf.

a letter of Richard to the Doge of Venice dated 5th September 1392 that in creating a Venetian subject a knight he had also given him 'our badge of a hart couchant which is borne by the knights who stay at our side'.[1] The use of the badge became more prevalent later. In 1395 the king's painter, Gilbert Prince, painted the royal barge with a white hart, also making banners and standards of the arms of the king and St. Edward,[2] while Prince's successor Thomas Litlyngton was responsible for producing, for the joustings held in January 1396/7, twenty long gowns of red tartaryn having white harts of silver with golden crowns and chains lying among broom-plants, or possibly broom-cods (*genestres*), for twenty ladies who were to lead twenty armed knights from the Tower to Smithfield, as well as twenty short gowns of the same kind for the knights themselves;[3] a description remarkably like that of the robe worn by Richard in the Diptych. In the same year, 1396–7, accounts for work at Eltham Palace show that Geoffrey Glasyer was paid £8 for his contract for making in the hall new glass windows powdered with harts,[4] while in 1397 Litlyngton the painter received £289. 16*s*. 6*d*. for the painting of five rooms, two small chapels, and a great chapel 70 feet long in the Old Manor in Windsor Park; the great chapel was painted with harts with gilt antlers (*cum ceruis cum cornibus deauratis*), a peculiarity shared with the hart of the Diptych.[5] At Westminster Palace in 1397–8 the windows of the new

---

J. G. Nichols in *Archaeologia*, xxix, 38), but there is nothing to suggest the distribution of the badge as a livery before 1390. G. F. Beltz, in *Retrospective Review*, N.S. ii (1828), 501, actually states that the badge of a hart distributed at Smithfield in 1390 was 'pendent from a collar of golden broomscods', referring to Cotton MS. Tiberius C. ix, f. 25; but this is merely the Monk of Evesham's statement quoted above, and does not mention broom-cods; cf. Leland, *Collectanea* (1770), ii. 482.

[1] E. Perroy: *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II* (Royal Historical Society, Camden 3rd ser., xlviii, 1933), p. 103: 'cuique signum nostrum quo fruimur et quo nostri milites nostris lateribus assistentes utuntur, admodum cervi cubantis, tradidimus ubilibet deferendum.' The Wardrobe Book of 1392–3 (see above, p. 6, n. 3), f. 1 ff., mentions '.ij. olle argent. deaur. de lagena eyem. [i.e. enamelled] in cooperculis vno albo ceruo iacenti sub vna arbore', a piece 'cum Rege equitante super equum album cum vno ceruo albo iacenti in medio plat. super montem' and another 'cum vno ceruo super cooperculum'.

[2] E. 361/5, rot. 7d.: 'Et Gilberto Prince pictori London. pro diuersis operibus per ipsum factis circa vapulacionem diuersorum Baneriorum penons pencell. standard. de armis domini Regis et Sancti Edwardi et cum Bagis [i.e. badges] suis ac pictura vnius bargie domini Regis cum vno ceruo albo pro eadem bargea ac alijs necessarijs officium suum tangentibus', for which he was paid £180. 3*s*. 10*d*. by a writ of Privy Seal enrolled in the Memoranda of Easter Term year 19 (1395–6). The word *vapulacio* is used of printed or stamped designs: I am indebted to Mr. R. E. Latham for references to the word in similar contexts in Rymer, *Foedera*, ix, 334 (from a wardrobe account of 1416); E. 101/407/5, m. 3 (*c*. 1421), and 409/2, m. 19 (1439–40).

[3] *Ibid.*: 'Et Thome Litlyngton pictori London. pro diuersis operibus . . . ac pro vapulacione .xx. goun. long. de tartaryn rub. cum ceruis albis de argento cum coronis et cathenis de auro iacentibus in Genestr. factis pro .xx. dominabus ordinatis ad ducendum .xx. milites armatos de Turri London. usque Smethefeld contra hastilud. ibidem tent. post coronacionem domine Isabelle Regine mense Januarij anno .xx^{o}. vna cum .xx. goun. curt. de eadem secta pro dictis militibus. . . .' Litlyngton was paid £700. 5*s*. 1*d*. for his work for the King's Wardrobe alone in 1396–8; Prince had similarly received very large payments and it is quite possible that the Diptych was included among the 'various other works of their art' (alijs diuersis operibus artem suam tangentibus') referred to in the summary accounts which alone survive. It should be noted that two of the half-yearly Issue Rolls are missing for the period Apr. 1396–Apr. 1397 out of a series otherwise continuous for many years, while no accounts for the King's Chamber survive at this period. Harts lying in trails of broom occur between words of the inscription on the brass of Sir John Golofre (died November 1396) in the south ambulatory of Westminster Abbey. (For a good rubbing see Society of Antiquaries, Brass Rubbings, Middlesex portfolio 2.)

[4] E. 101/495/23, particulars of account from 14 Oct. 1396 to 16 Dec. 1397. Among the works done at Eltham Palace was: 'Opera vitri ad taxam. Et Galfrido Glasyer pro factura tam diuersarum fenestrarum vitr. de nouo pulverizat. cum ceruis in aula ibidem quam pro emendacione omnium fenestrarum vitr. infra magnam Capellam eiusdem manerij ex conuencione secum facta in grosso pro maiori commodo dicti domini Regis—viij.li.'

[5] E. 101/495/30, counter-roll of works at the Old Manor in Windsor Park: 'Opera pictat. ad taxam. Et Thome Prynce pro pictura .v. camerarum ordinatarum pro Rege et .ij. capellis paruis necnon vnius capelle magne de longitudine .Lxx. pedum depict. cum ceruis cum cornibus deauratis vna cum inuencione colorum et auri pro pictura

hall were glazed with the arms of the king and of St. Edward by William Bourgh,[1] while many badges of the hart carved in the new stonework of the hall (pl. x), in progress from 1394, still survive.[2]

The documents then prove that a major campaign of redecoration with the Confessor's arms impaling those of France and England, with white harts, and to a more limited extent with broom-plants, was taking place between 1394 and 1399, while comparable records of the reign of Henry IV show how rapidly these badges were superseded. In 1401 Eltham was glazed again with scutcheons, garters, and collars of the new king's badges, and with collars, crowns, and flowers bearing the motto *Soueignez vous de moy*,[3] while in the following year there were insertions of broom (*genestres*) and eagles with scrolls marked *Soveraigne*.[4] By 1406 the wardrobe inventory shows only one piece of plate bearing a hart, and only eight marked with the arms of the Confessor.[5]

Broom-plants displaying both flowers and cods appear on Richard's gilt bronze effigy in Westminster Abbey, ordered in April 1395,[6] and broom was, as we have seen, also used by Henry IV. Considered with the use of the broom as an English royal badge through the fifteenth century, these occurrences indicate that the plant was already held to refer to Geoffrey Plantagenet, founder of the royal house.[7] While the English use of the collar of broom-cods may derive from the collar of the *Cosse de Geneste* used by the French kings from 1378, the collars of the Diptych differ

---

earundem ex conuencione secum facta in grosso pro maiori commodo dicti domini Regis . . . CC. iiij^{xx}.ix.li. xvj.s. vj.d.' For references to this account and to several others I am greatly indebted to Mr. L. F. Salzman.

[1] E. 101/470/17, particulars of accounts for works at Westminster Palace and the Tower of London, 1397–8. Among the works at Westminster a payment is included to William Bourgh, glasier, 'pro .xij. pedibus vitri operati cum armis domini Regis et Sancti Edwardi similiter emptis pro lez oylettis earundem .iiij. fenestrarum aule.'

[2] Many, but not all, of these badges were recut in the nineteenth century; see p. 5, n. 8 above.

[3] E. 101/502/23: 'cum Escuchons garters et colers de lez Bagez nre sire le Roy . . . cum Escuchons colyers et corones et flores cum soueignez vous de moy.'

[4] See p. 5, n. 4 above.

[5] B.M., Harleian MS. 319, ff. 53–58. The principal devices described as marking the royal plate at this time (30 Sept. 1406–8 Dec. 1407) were: cum armis Anglie et Francie quartellatis (16); armis Anglie et Francie (13); armis domini Regis quartellatis (8); armis domini Regis (7); cum uno leopardo (7); armis Anglie et Sancti Edwardi partitis (6); cum una parua corona (4); cum uno Cressant, una Stella, et una Rosa (3); cum una Rosa (3); cum una corona (2); armis Anglie Francie et Sancti Edwardi partitis (2); armis Regis et Francie partitis (1); armis Anglie et Francie partitis (1); cum vno ceruo (1); and 20 other marks each occurring only once.

[6] Scharf, *op. cit.*, pp. 39–41. The effigy was undertaken by an indenture of 24 Apr. 1395 (printed by Rymer, *Foedera*, vii, 797) and was to be completed by Michaelmas 1397; the marble tomb, made under indenture of 1 Apr. 1395, had been paid for (with the exception of £6. 13*s*. 4*d*. out of a total of £250) by 24 July 1397 (E. 101/473/10). The account for payments to Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, the two coppersmiths who made the effigies and other metalwork (E. 364/35, rot. E, Foreign Roll 2 Hen. IV), shows that they received the full sum of £400 for the work in instalments paid between 28 Apr. 1395 and 23 July 1397, and a further £300 allowed for the gilding of the work between 7 Dec. 1398 and 14 Apr. 1399. The images were made in two houses in the parish of St. Alban Wood Street in the City of London hired for four years (i.e. Apr. 1395–Apr. 1399), and the materials purchased are listed as 'in auro, argento, cupro, laton., ferro, asseri, carboni maritimo voc. charcole, focale, zabulo, ollis luteis, pannis tel. lin. et alijs diuersis rebus'; the lengths of linen cloth may have been for drawing full-size cartoons. It is worth noting that the effigies are specified as being made in the likeness of the deceased king and queen: 'ad similitudinem dictorum nuper Regis et Regine Anne contrafact.'

[7] The view that the use of the broom by Richard II was entirely unconnected with the surname Plantagenet has been generally accepted since the appearance in 1842 of two brilliant papers by John Gough Nichols, on the heraldic devices of these effigies (*Archaeologia*, xxix, 32–59) and on royal livery collars (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1842, pt. i, pp. 250 ff., 378–9). While Nichols proved beyond question the immediate French origin of the collar of broom-cods, his dismissal of the traditional connexion with the dynasty of Plantagenet depends solely on the negative evidence that the cognomen is not found in use as a family surname until it was adopted by Richard, duke of York, about 1448.

markedly from the detailed description of the collar sent to Richard by Charles VI,[1] and it is possible that an English version of the collar was adopted by Richard II in emulation of, rather than in compliment towards, the House of Valois. There is some evidence suggesting English use of broom-cods as early as 1392,[2] and on 3rd December 1393 payment was made for two collars of gold ornamented with pearls and precious stones, for Richard's own use; but the design of these collars is not stated.[3] Even if the first appearance of the broom-cod collar in England was in 1395–6, when the French king's collars were sent, the profuse use of the broom-plant, but not of the collar, upon Richard's effigy cannot be explained as a mere compliment to Charles VI, and still less the employment of broom by Henry IV. It is reasonable then to accept that the English royal house, probably stimulated by the Valois use of the broom-cod, actively reasserted their own right to the symbol of the broom-plant, and that it is here that the idea of Plantagenet as a family name took its rise.[4]

We are on safe ground in considering 1394–5 as the earliest possible time when the Confessor's arms could be found impaled as they are upon the back of the Diptych.

---

[1] The description was given in an account of Charles Poupart, silversmith to Charles VI of France, formerly in the Chambre des Comptes at Paris, and including payments to Jehan Compere, goldsmith of Paris, for making a golden collar for the King of France, another like it for the King of England, and three similar but less valuable collars for the dukes of Lancaster, Gloucester, and York. According to P. Helyot, *Histoire des Ordres Monastiques, etc.* (1719), viii, 278, the date of the original account was 1393, but an eighteenth-century transcript (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 20684, ff. 467–78), published by L. Mirot (*Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, xxix, 1902, 125 ff.) puts the date of the account as 1398 and the occasion of the gift of the collars as the proxy marriage at Paris of Isabella de Valois to Richard II on 12 Mar. 1395/6. The king's collar is described as 'fait en façon de deux gros tuyaulx rons, et entre iceux tuyaux cosses de genestes doubles, entretenant par les queux, et autour d'ycelui collier sur lesd. cosses, fait 9 potences, garnies chacune de deux [neuf] grosses perles l'un par l'autre et entreux deux d'icelles potences autour dudit collier a 50 lettres d'or pendant a l'un d'iceulx tuyaux, qui font par diz fois le mot du roy *Jamès*, et au devant d'icelluy collier a un gros balay quarre environne de huit grosses perles de compte et au derriere d'iceluy collier a deux [cosses en forme de] cosses de genestes d'or ouvertes, esmaillees l'une de blanc et l'autre de vert, au a dedans en chascune d'elles cosses 3 semblables grosses perles, et lesd. tuyaux d'iceluy collier pooinsonnez de branches, fleurs et cosses de genestes, valant en tout 258 frans., 7*s.*, 8*d.*' (The text given here is taken from Mirot; possibly significant variants from Helyot are included within square brackets.) I have to thank M. Jean Chazelas for a detailed investigation of the French accounts which he most kindly undertook. M. Chazelas finds that Bibl. Nat. MS. fr. 20684 does not refer to 1398, but quite specifically to works done between the beginning of Mar. 1395/6 and the beginning of Oct. 1396. He has discovered further that Archives nat., KK. 25, f. 74^{v} contains a reference to repairs carried out, between 1 Feb. 1395/6 and 31 Jan. 1396/7, to the French king's collar 'pareil a celui que ledit sire envoia au roy d'Angleterre'; further that the money-changer Andry du Moulin, who appears as one of those responsible for making the collars sent to England, is mentioned only in accounts of the period 1 July 1395–31 Jan. 1395/6 (KK. 41, ff. 84, 113, 169).

Another broom-cod collar brought to England by Queen Isabella later in 1396 is described as being made of eight pieces like open broom-flowers, with eight other pieces shaped like pairs of broom-cods (F. Wormald in *Journal of Warburg, etc. Inst.* xvii, 199). It is in the highest degree unlikely that the carefully drawn collar worn by Richard in the Diptych would differ so markedly from both of these French collars if the only purpose of showing the collar was to compliment the House of Valois.

[2] E. Hartshorne, in *Archaeological Journal*, lxvi (1909), 86, states: 'When Richard II and Anne of Bohemia visited London in 1392, the queen wore a robe embroidered with an edging of broom-cods, and a rich carcanet round her neck.' No reference is given for this statement, and it has not so far been traced in any of the chroniclers' accounts of the state visit to London in 1392, nor in the Latin poem describing it (T. Wright, *Political Poems from Edward III to Richard III*, Rolls Series, 1859, i, 282–300).

[3] F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer* (1837), p. 253. The original Issue Roll (E. 403/546, m. 13), under the date Wednesday, 3 Dec. 17 Ric. II, reads: 'Drugoni Barantyn et Hans Doubler aurifabris London. In denar. eis liberat. super fabricacione duo Collarium et vnius Nouche de auro cum perlis et lapidibus preciosis ornatorum pro persona domini Regis. Lxvj.li. xiij.s. iiij.d.'

This must be regarded as disproving the negative statement of Miss Clarke (*Burlington Mag.* lviii, 289) that 'there is no evidence that Richard wore a collar of his own and no evidence beyond the diptych that he ever wore any other collar than that of Lancaster'. See further n. 1 above, and p. 10, n. 5 below.

[4] Rivalry between the English and French royal houses in heraldry, badges, the holy oil of unction, and probably the broom-cod collar has been emphasized by Tristram in *The Month* (1949), ii, 26–27.

Not only is there no evidence to support the suggestion of earlier private use of these arms:[1] the consensus of records, seals, and monuments is overwhelmingly in favour of their having been newly assumed in 1395. It seems no less certain that the display of the king's arms and his personal badge, with absolutely nothing to suggest any other association, indicates that the Diptych was made for Richard himself, and therefore before the autumn of 1399, unless we are to revive the discredited view of his later survival, for which there seems to be no adequate evidence.[2]

There is another valuable indication of a date during Richard's lifetime, and probably soon after the death of Anne of Bohemia. The white hart on the back of the Diptych (pls. II, VI) lies in a green mead surrounded by small flowers springing among the grass, with fronds of bracken. But immediately beneath the animal are the flattened branches of a low bush: unlike the generalized view of grass, bracken, and flowers, this bush must have a special significance. It certainly does not represent broom, but appears to be rosemary,[3] known to have been a badge of Queen Anne, and to have been used as her livery collar.[4] This personal use of his dead queen's badge could hardly have been dictated by anyone but Richard himself, and is supported by the fact that when, at the end of October 1396, Richard met Charles VI to receive from him his second wife, Isabella, the gentlemen of his company were arrayed in gowns of the dead queen's livery, and a precious collar of her livery, worth 5,000 marks, was his personal gift to the French king.[5]

---

[1] Tristram, *loc. cit.* p. 20.

[2] See p. 1, nn. 4, 5, above. It seems incredible that the French Court, which had certainly sent Créton on a voyage of discovery to Scotland expressly to ascertain the true facts, should not have been certain of Richard's death by 1406, when Queen Isabella was married for the second time (29 June; her betrothal had taken place on 4 June 1404. See Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 536, and p. 1, n. 4 above).

[3] The plant is shown without flowers or seeds, whereas known representations of the *Planta Genista* show it bearing both flowers and fruit. The plant of the Diptych agrees with rosemary in having consistently opposite pairs of sessile leaves, with pairs of smaller leaves in the axils. The likeness to dried branches of rosemary is very close in general effect. This may be relevant, as it is doubtful whether the plant was grown in England at the time, and if not, the lack of flowers on the plant shown in the Diptych would be explained. Rosemary is not mentioned in the long list of herbs given in a mid-fifteenth-century English treatise on gardening (ed. A. M. T. Amherst in *Archaeologia*, liv, 1895, 157-72), but it does appear in the list in B.M. Sloane MS. 1201 of about the same period (printed in T. Wright, *Homes of Other Days*, 1871, p. 312).

[4] Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars*, p. 357 (cf. J. H. Wylie, *History of England under Henry the Fourth*, 1898, iv, 193 ff.). No. 334 of the Inventory of Jewels which had belonged to Richard II, taken 29 May 1400, reads: 'Item .ix. overages d'or d'un coler du livere de la Royne Anne de braunches de rose maryn garnisez de perles sanz peres pois —vi. unc. iii. quart.' A sword-belt and sheath were embroidered for the king with white harts and rosemary in 1398–9, to be hung beneath his helmet in the chapel at Windsor: 'Ad broudat. unius vaginae et Zonae pro i Gladio Dom. Regis operat. in brouder. super velvet rub. cum Cervis albis coron. et Rosemary de auro de Cipre, et serico ad pendend. subtus Galeam Dom. Regis infra capellam de Windesore hoc anno.' (J. Anstis, *The Register of the Order of the Garter*, 1724, ii, 56.) In the same year two long gowns with sleeves were embroidered for Queen Isabel for Christmas with sprays of rosemary and broom: 'pro broudatur. ii gown. long. cum manicis larg. una de panno sanguin. in grano, et altera di Blanket long. operat. in brouder cum frondibus de *Rosemary* et *Genestre* de auro de Cipro et serico pro dom. Regina contra festum Natalis Domini ad broudatur. ii gown.' (*Ibid.* i, 115, quoting account of Keeper of the Great Wardrobe for 22 Ric. II.)

[5] A detailed account of the meeting between the two kings near Ardres on 27, 28, and 30 Oct. 1396 is given in a manuscript (Oriel College, Oxford, No. 46, ff. 104–6) printed by P. Meyer in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1880), pp. 209 ff. Richard is described as wearing a long gown of red velvet, with a hat full of hanging pearls and a rich collar of the livery of the French king, a great hart on his arm, and accompanied by his gentlemen in gowns of red cloth with bands of white of the livery of the dead queen ('en gownes de drap ruge ove bendes de blanc de la livree du roigne que derrein murrust', p. 212). Richard gave to Charles a collar of pearls and other precious stones of the livery of the dead queen, worth 5,000 marks ('un coler des perles et autres preciouses perres de la liveree de la roigne que derrein murrust, pres de V^{m} marcz', p. 217). Charles VI gave to the duchesses of Lancaster and Gloucester, to the countess of Huntingdon and to Joan daughter of the duke of Lancaster collars of his livery of broom-cods ('colers de son liveree de bromcoddes', p. 219: printed 'broincoddes'), which he fastened

While stylistic parallels at both earlier and later dates have been urged, some of the closest resemblances of treatment are to be found in English art of the 1390's. Notably the archaic convention of drawing eyes as elongated slits, giving a withdrawn and hieratic expression, appears also in the face of the standing Virgin from the east window of Winchester College Chapel (pl. VII), glazed in 1393.[1] A like treatment is found in the stone statue of the Virgin over the outer gate of the college (pl. XI, *a*), built in 1394–7.[2] Turning to other details, the curly hair of some heads from the Winchester glass closely resembles that of angels in the Diptych (pl. VIII, *a*), while the coiffure of Richard II is much more like that of several of the kings of the Winchester window than the pudding-bowl cut seen in the Beaufort Hours and in other work of about 1410.

The Winchester glass also includes a panel of Richard II before the Baptist (pl. IX), again with comparable hair and showing the king beardless; and kings from the Jesse Tree, such as 'Josaphat' (pl. VIII, *b*) and 'Ochozias', who conform to the same fashions, both with and without the forked beard. Though Richard may have been represented in the Diptych as more youthful than he actually was, the evidence suggests that he did not start a beard until 1395; certainly not until after Anne's death.[3] Richard's

---

round their necks.

Richard's singular preoccupation with the memory of his first wife, at the very moment of receiving his second, suggests that the Elizabethan equation of rosemary with remembrance may have been due to a tradition of this royal obsession. The earliest occurrence of the theme quoted in *O.E.D.* dates only from 1584.

[1] The glass of the east window appears to be certainly of earlier date than some of that in the side windows bearing both 'W's and crowned 'H's, the former doubtless alluding to William of Wykeham (died 27 Sept. 1404; the windows bore inscriptions asking prayers for him, not for his soul), the latter to Henry IV, who interested himself in the college (see B. Rackham, *Victoria and Albert Museum—Guide to the Collections of Stained Glass*, 1936, pp. 50–51). It is then reasonable to associate the glass of the east window with that brought from Oxford to the college in the summer of 1393, as recorded by a surviving household account of Wykeham for Apr.–Sept. in that year: 'In expensis .ij. chariettorum de Esshere usque Oxoniam et de ibidem usque Clere et Wyntoniam cariantium vitrum pro fenestris Collegii domini Wyntonie per .ix. dies cum .xij. equis et .vj. hominibus charettivis, xix.s. iij.d.' (Winchester College Muniments, no. 1 = *Domus I. 1*, printed, not quite correctly, by J. D. LeCouteur, *Ancient Glass in Winchester*, 1920, p. 117). The chapel was consecrated on 17 July 1395 (A. F. Leach, *A History of Winchester College*, 1899, p. 134), by which time it is to be expected that the glass of the east window would have been in place, while the Account Rolls of 1396–7 (WCM *22080*) record a payment to a glazier for mending the glass of *several* windows damaged in the chapel ('Sol. .j. vitreatori emendando vitrum diversarum fenestrarum in Capella hoc anno peioratarum vj.s. viij.d.'; cf. LeCouteur, *loc. cit.*). The painter of the glass is known to have been Thomas (of Oxford) who inserted his own portrait in the east window with the inscription: 'Thomas operator istius vitri', and visited the college from time to time, as well as producing the glass for New College, Oxford (C. Woodforde, *The Stained Glass of New College, Oxford*, 1951, pp. 3–6). For the Winchester glass see LeCouteur, *op. cit.*; J. H. Harvey in *Illus. London News*, 1 Apr. 1950, ccxvi, 491–3; M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain—The Middle Ages*, 1954, pp. 186–8.

Thomas of Oxford was very probably not the designer of the painted glass, and it is therefore interesting to note that Wykeham's account roll for 1393 shows that he was employing the London painter Herebright ('In carecta Rogeri atte Groue conducta de Esshere vsque Farnham cum hernesio Herebright pictoris Londoniensis cariato mense Aprilis iij.s. iiij.d.'), presumably the same as the Herebright de Cologne, citizen and painter of London, who on 13 Aug. 1398 undertook to paint an image of St. Paul with its tabernacle of carpentry on the right of the High Altar of St. Paul's Cathedral for £8 or more, and later petitioned the Dean and Chapter for £12. 16*s.* for painting the image of St. Paul (Historical Manuscripts Commission, *9th Report*, i, 30, Nos. 7, 41).

[2] The building of the Outer Gate can be dated to 1394–7. An account roll for 1394–5 (WCM *22078*) allowed commons on All Saints Day (1 Nov. 1394) to masons and carpenters who had come to make a contract with William Wynford, the master mason, for building the outer tower ('pro turre exteriori construenda'; LeCouteur, *op. cit.* pp. 77, 119); and in 1397–8 payment was made for the provision and setting of cresset-stones at the gates (Custus Operum roll 3, WCM *75*). The design and execution of the statue presumably belong within these same years; it would have been paid for as part of the main work financed by Wykeham, recorded in accounts now lost.

[3] The most decisive evidence is that of the Winchester College glass panel and stone head; see above, n. 1, and below, p. 12, nn. 3, 4. Some apparent evidence to the contrary exists in the illuminated initials of charters at Ipswich (Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office,

effigy, ordered in April 1395 and certainly cast by 1397,[1] shows him with a small moustache and tufts of beard, which latter appear also in the Westminster Abbey portrait probably to be associated with that for which Master Peter Combe the sacrist was paid in December 1395,[2] at the same time that he received payment for the paintings of the tester over the tomb, now defaced. If Richard had already grown a short beard by December 1395, but not yet the moustache which is seen on the effigy already being made, it is reasonable to suppose that the beard was of recent growth. This is supported, not only by the figure of 1393 in the Winchester College glass which has no trace of a beard,[3] but by a carved head (pl. xi, *b*), obviously intended for the king, on the southern label-stop outside the east window of the college chapel,[4] made either shortly before the window was ready for the glass in summer 1393, or thereafter up to the consecration of the chapel on 17th July 1395.[5] Opportunity for actual portraiture existed, for the king was in Winchester to hold Parliament from 20th January to 10th February 1393,[6] and again in July and September, when he dined with Bishop Wykeham at Wolvesey.[7] The corresponding label-stop, of an ageing bishop, gives every sign of being a genuine portrait of Wykeham.[8] Richard is also shown beardless in the French illumination of Mézières's project for the Order of the Passion,[9] datable to 1395–6.

---

photographed by the Courtauld Institute of Art, negative 138/67(32)) and Shrewsbury (Corporation Muniments, Box I, No. 24), both of which show the king with a forked beard, and that at Shrewsbury with a moustache as well. The Shrewsbury charter is dated 22 Nov. 1389 and that at Ipswich 26 Feb. 1379/80, when Richard was thirteen years old. Since it is manifestly impossible that Richard should have worn a beard at this date, and the illumination of initials was an optional addition to charters after their delivery, it must be presumed that the dates of painting are some years later than those of the charters. At Shrewsbury the portrait may even have been based on the life during Richard's visit to hold Parliament there in Jan. 1398. I am indebted to Dr. G. Zarnecki for drawing my attention to the Ipswich miniature and for his generous gift of a photograph of it.

[1] See p. 8, n. 6 above.

[2] The identity of the surviving portrait with that referred to in the Issue Roll (E. 403/554, m. 12; abstract in F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 262) was suggested by W. Burges (in G. G. Scott, *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, 2nd ed., 1863, p. 176 n.) and accepted by W. R. Lethaby (*Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen*, 1906, pp. 278–9) and E. W. Tristram (*English Wall-Painting of the 14th Century*, 1955, p. 45), who regards Master Peter (Combe) as himself most probably the painter. (For Combe see E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, 1916, p. 109.) The entry in the roll, dated Tuesday, 14 Dec. 1395, runs: 'Dompno Petro Sacriste ecclesie beati Petri Westm. In denariis sibi liberatis per manus Johannis Haxey in persolucionem .xx.li. quas dominus Rex sibi liberare mandavit tam pro pictura cooperture supra Tumbam Anne nuper Regine Anglie infra dictam ecclesiam humate existentis quam pro remocione vnius tumbe prope tumbam eiusdem Regine ac eciam pro pictura eiusdem tumbe remote et pro pictura vnius ymaginis ad similitudinem vnius Regis contrafacte in choro ecclesie predicte per breve de priuato sigillo inter mandata de hoc termino—.xx.li.'

[3] Scharf, *op. cit.* p. 60, who saw the original glass in its corroded state at Ettington Park, Warwickshire, states that the portrait is 'wearing similar tufts of hair upon the chin to those described' (in referring to the effigy and the abbey portrait). Minute examination of the glass in 1949, before, during, and after its cleaning failed to reveal the slightest trace of these tufts of hair, though cracks and surface corrosion gave a false impression at a slight distance. See also LeCouteur, *op. cit.* p. 81.

[4] H. Chitty and S. Pitcher, *Mediaeval Sculptures at Winchester College* (1932), pp. 10–11 and pl. xxiv*a*.

[5] See above, p. 11, n. 1. There was no invariable practice as to the carving of architectural sculpture. Some pieces were certainly worked at the bench, others *in situ*, but at least the final touches and any relatively delicate work would be added after the stone was in position, to avoid the risk of damage. Two such important portraits as those flanking the great window of the chapel probably did not receive their final form until shortly before the scaffolds were struck, almost certainly in 1394–5.

[6] P.R.O., E. 101/402/10, f. 6 ff.

[7] Wykeham's household account (Winchester College Muniments, no. 1), compared with the bishop's itinerary.

[8] Chitty and Pitcher, *op. cit.* pl. xxiv*b*.

[9] B.M., Royal MS., 20 B. vi, f. 2; reproduced in M. V. Clarke, *op. cit.* pl. 2; in J. H. Harvey, *The Plantagenets* (1948), fig. 48; and in G. M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated English Social History* (1949), i, pl. 41. This illumination is presumably connected with the visit to England of Robert le Mennot or Lermite in the spring of 1395, when he saw the king immediately after his return from Ireland (E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'Occident*, Paris, 1933, p. 364). But it is uncertain whether the manuscript was brought to England by Robert, or was the immediate out-

Either Richard, aged 28 on 6th January 1395, preserved a distinctly youthful appearance, corroborated by the other beardless portraits; or he had already lost his looks, and the painter deliberately flattered him, or worked from an earlier portrait from life.[1] A possible reason for the change between the bright young man of the Winchester College dripstone, the French miniature, and the Diptych and the care-worn individual of the effigy may lie in the onset of disease, for a medicine for the stone had been tried by Richard II's physician upon the king himself.[2] The probability that Richard was suffering from increasingly serious ill health is supported by large sums spent upon medicines prescribed in 1395–6 by the king's physician John Middelton, his surgeon William Bradewardyn, and other doctors.[3] This painful disease may also account for the fits of fury to which the king was prone, as was that later sufferer from calculus, Judge Jeffreys.[4] Another factor in producing Richard's suddenly careworn appearance must have been his unmeasured grief at the death of Anne of Bohemia.

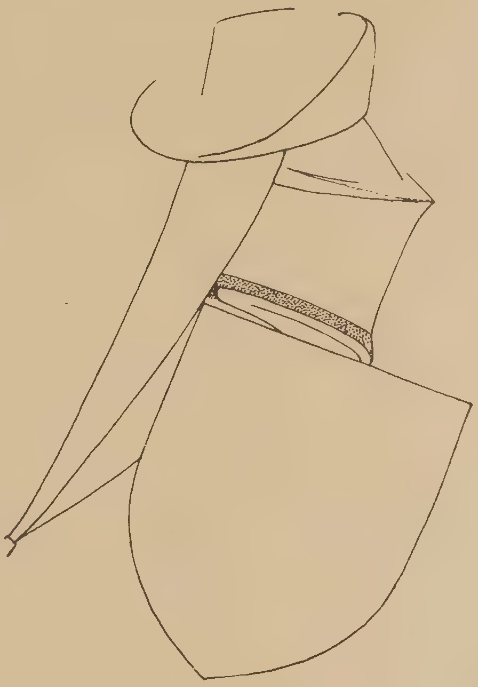


Fig. 1. The Wilton Diptych. Shield and helm from back of right panel (see pl. v).

If, on the other hand, King Richard's personal appearance in the Diptych is to be entirely disregarded as evidence of date, it is otherwise with heraldry, coiffure, and costume. The use of France Ancient in the royal quarterings is strong prima facie evidence of a date earlier than 1408 at the latest, by which time France Modern had been placed on Henry IV's second Great Seal. A merely sentimental use of the older form, though possible, is not likely at a later date, and seems almost out of the question after Henry V's accession in March 1413, before which an openly countenanced memorial picture, produced by the king's painters, is unthinkable.[5] But it is hardly credible that Henry V, who was so ruthlessly to crush the

---

come of his visit: on this depends the question whether the portrait of Richard goes back to a 'type' of 1394 or earlier (as on the whole seems probable), or is to be accepted as based on his appearance in May 1395.

[1] The portrait might have been worked up from an earlier sketch if painted during Richard's absence in Ireland, Oct. 1394–May 1395; and this absence on campaign following so soon on his cruel loss might well have been the occasion of the king's allowing his beard to grow. There has been a tendency in much of the literature to exaggerate the youthfulness of Richard's appearance in the Diptych: all that can safely be said is that the king's age might be anything between about 17 (1384) and 30 (1397) as extreme limits.

[2] B.M., Royal MS. 12 E. xxii, f. 132 (art. 5): 'medicina pro petra probata per medicum Ricardi Regis secundi in ipso Rege, etc.'

[3] The Wardrobe Book of 1395–6 (E. 101/403/10) contains long lists of payments (f. 40) for medicines 'pro sanitate corporis Regis et familie sue', to a total of £63. 9*s*. 3*d*., of which at least a payment of £4. 5*s*., as well as a proportion of the rest, was for the king's personal medicines alone. See also F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 257.

[4] For Richard's outburst of fury at the funeral of Anne of Bohemia see A. Steel, *op. cit.* p. 203. The case of Jeffreys is a well authenticated clinical history; see H. B. Irving, *Life of Judge Jeffreys* (1898).

[5] No theory in favour of a date after Richard's death can face the multitude of factors which prevent the Diptych from being regarded as a memorial painting (see above,

Ricardian faction in 1415, would have dictated the Diptych; nor that he could, if so, have refrained from some heraldic or other indication that would claim the credit for his act of piety. A much more serious objection to any theory of a memorial picture is the absence of any inscription asking prayers for Richard's soul, which his most bitter enemy would have sought.

This applies equally to a secret memorial painting produced for the anti-Lancastrian underground party; but more conclusive objection in this case is that such a painting would not have been made while the party regarded Richard as still alive. We know that in 1402–3 Créton believed Richard to be in Scotland,[1] that in 1404 the legitimist party either believed that Richard was alive, or found it politic to say they did;[2] that in 1405 the earl of Northumberland took up arms in Richard's name,[3] and that soon afterwards the Scottish Court was maintaining a pretender accepted by legitimists as being the king.[4] After Henry V's accession, the thesis that Richard was alive in Scotland was sustained by the earl of Cambridge and his fellow conspirators in 1415,[5] and was still asserted by Sir John Oldcastle in December 1417.[6] The Scottish pretender, if pretender he were, did not die until 13th December 1419, when he was buried, as king of England, in the church of the Black Friars of Stirling.[7] A secret memorial picture is then virtually impossible in the first nineteen years of the century; and while a secret propaganda picture, on the theme 'When the King enjoys his own again', made to the instructions of the exiled Richard himself, may be a theoretical possibility for some years after 1400, the intrinsic unlikelihood is very great, especially as Queen Isabella did not die until late in 1409, and the Diptych contains no reference to her.

---

p. 1, and below, p. 19, n. 5), the many indications that its complicated and unique iconography can only be associated with Richard's own personality, or the fundamental impossibility of supposing that a painting dictated by Henry IV or Henry V would so emphasize Richard's regality and association with England's royal saints.

For the date of the change from the arms *semee de fleurs-de-lys* in France and England see A. B. Wyon in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxxix (1883), p. 164; *The Great Seals of England* (1887), pp. 43–44; H. Jenkinson in *Archaeologia*, lxxxv (1936), 293 ff. The late H. S. Kingsford (in *Archaeological Journal*, xcvii, 1941, 154–80) regarded the gold great seal with the arms of France Modern as 'made at the beginning of Henry IV's reign' (p. 173).

The use in the Diptych of the older heraldry is the more striking in that the forms of helm and shield (fig. 1) are those first being introduced in the last decade of the fourteenth century (see below, p. 15, n. 2). The helm, with its lip of slight projection, is a development from that of the Black Prince, but was soon to be superseded by that with a large 'frog-mouthed' lip which became universal by 1420 or earlier and is always shown heraldically in three-quarter view (compare pls. vi and vii in A. Wagner, *Heraldry in England*, 1946). Among the best examples of the actual piece of armour are the helms associated with Sir Reginald Braybrook (died 1405) and Sir Nicholas Hawberk (died 1407), which would not have been new when hung over their tombs in Cobham Church, Kent (G. F. Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, ii, 1920, 103–4, a reference for which I am indebted to Mr. Claude Blair).

Similarly the shield with vertical sides and obtusely pointed base is found in the masonry of the north porch of Westminster Hall (1394–1400). A work of the supreme quality of the Diptych is likely to date from the initial phase of such new fashions.

[1] Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 527–31.

[2] In 1404 Maud (de Ufford), the old countess of Oxford, widowed mother of Robert de Vere, was active in Essex on behalf of Richard II, whom she declared to be still alive. According to the St. Albans chronicler Thomas Walsingham (*Historia Anglicana*, Rolls Series, ii, 1864, 262–4) 'she also had made many silver and gilt harts, namely the badges which King Richard used to give to his knights, esquires and friends; that the knights of that countryside and other brave men might the more easily be drawn to the cause by this distribution (of badges) on the king's behalf.'

[3] Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 383, 532.

[4] *Ibid.* ii, 526; *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland 1406–36*, pp. 71, 213, 239, 289.

[5] *43rd Report* of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, p. 579.

[6] Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 532.

[7] John de Fordun, *Scotichronicon*, ed. T. Hearne (1722), iv, 1211; *Liber Pluscardiensis* (The Historians of Scotland, vii, 1877), p. 337.

The evidence of costume and coiffure tells strongly against a date even as late as 1405–10. In the Diptych the king wears a rich robe which, unlike the purely formal garments of his patrons, has the high collar of the houppelande, but not in its exaggerated form. According to Kelly and Schwabe the high collar 'evolved between 1380 and 1390',[1] and in an extreme form it is very prominent in the donors' figures of the Beaufort Hours Annunciation,[2] while in the Crucifixion of the Sherborne Missal, painted between 1396 and 1407,[3] there are high collars slightly more exaggerated than that in the Diptych, and a hair treatment intermediate between Richard's style in the Diptych and the later pudding-bowl cut.[4] The style of the king's hair-cut is indeed entirely in keeping with that of the 1390's, but was going out in the first years of the new century and had been superseded before 1410, as is witnessed by the figures in the Beaufort Hours and by those of Prince Henry and Hoccleve in the latter's *De Regimine Principum*.[5] On the contrary, we may note how closely both hair-cut and clean-shaven face resemble those in the presentation of the book of the Order of the Passion,[6] datable to 1395–6, which also shows the courtiers, though not the king himself, wearing high collars that have not yet reached exaggerated proportions.[7]

Something more may here be said of the pictorial content of the Diptych. The robe worn by the king is patterned with an elaborate design of broom-cod collars encircling chained harts, with small eagles displayed in the interstices between the links of broom-cods. The colour and design resemble those of the gowns worn at Smithfield in January 1397. It seems probable that, as Professor Tristram pointed out,[8] the eagles allude to those interwoven all over the pallium of the coronation.

---

[1] F. M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, *A Short History of Costume and Armour* (1931), p. 26.

[2] B.M., Royal MS. 2 A. xviii, f. 23^{v}; reproduced in M. Rickert, *Painting in Britain—The Middle Ages* (1954), pl. 166; the date lies between 1399 and 1410, almost certainly after 1401 (*ibid.* p. 192, n. 64). A stylistic connexion between this miniature and the Diptych has often been stressed, most recently by Professor Wormald (*Journal of Warburg, etc. Inst.* xvii, 196), but the more humanistic, less hieratic, poses should be noticed, the marked differences of costume and coiffure, and in the treatment of faces and the archangel's wings. Likenesses have also been traced between the Diptych and some of the illuminations in the Bedford Psalter and Hours (B.M., Add. MS. 42131), but it should be noted that this is clearly later, not only because of its more humanistic faces, but in that the achievement of arms on f. 73 displays the Royal Arms quartering France Modern, and a helm of the 'frog-mouthed' type in three-quarter view (see above, p. 13, n. 5).

[3] In the library of the duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle; see J. A. Herbert, *The Sherborne Missal* (Roxburghe Club, 1920). The crucifixion is reproduced in Rickert, *op. cit.* pl. 161. One may also compare the closely similar forms of collar and hair-cut of kings in the Jesse ceiling of St. Helen's, Abingdon, painted soon after 1391 and certainly by 1404 (reproduced in Rickert, *op. cit.* pl. 158; cf. A. E. Preston in *Berkshire Archaeological Journal*, xl, 1936, 136, 138).

[4] Insufficiency of precisely dated material makes dogmatism unwise, but examination of a very large number of paintings, illuminations, and carvings (both English and French) has failed to disclose any evidence conflicting with the proposition that the sweeping and everted high collar framing the face, and a shorter hair-style for men, cut well above the ears, together formed a new fashion approximately coinciding with the opening of the fifteenth century. It can be seen already in being in the French illuminations of a copy of the works of Christine de Pisan (B.M., Harleian MS. 4431), which can be dated to *c.* 1403; at f. 178 a broom-cod collar, unlike those of the Diptych, is shown.

High collars and a helm (see above, p. 13, n. 5) rather later than those of the Diptych, and hair-styles slightly more developed towards the pudding-bowl cut, appear in the remarkable 'jewel' known as 'Das goldene Rösslin' at Altötting, Bavaria (pl. xiii), certainly Parisian and not later than 1403 (see M. Frankenburger in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xliv (1924), p. 23; and T. Müller and E. Steingräber in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 35. v (1954), pp. 29–79).

[5] B.M., Arundel MS. 38, f. 37; reproduced in Rickert, *op. cit.* pl. 169*c*.

[6] See above, p. 12, n. 9.

[7] See above, n. 4. Little or no difference can be detected between the fashionable costumes of France and England, but both are distinguished from those of Germany, Italy, and Spain. While the court of Paris may have set the cross-Channel fashions, there is no reason to think that the London usage was separated by a time-lag of more than a year or two at most.

[8] *The Month* (1949), i, 384.

The harts, like those of the badges and the larger emblem on the back, and in spite of differences in scale, share in the feeling for stylization of nature seen in the lion of the crest, in the angels' wings, the Baptist's lamb, and the strown flowers. Again, a close parallel to the plants of the Diptych foregrounds can be found in the Winchester College glass of 1393, both including an unusual rosette-like plant whose leaves have a stiff, slender midrib and opposite pairs of leaflets. The angels' wings bear a marked resemblance, considering their difference in scale, to the wing of the figure of St. Michael in the Byward Tower of the Tower of London.[1] It is hard to believe that the Diptych can have been painted elsewhere than in England,[2] or that its painter was not either English or a foreigner so long resident as to have fully assimilated all the traditions of insular art.

The extent to which heraldic animals were based on life is uncertain. The hart of the Diptych, with its stylized refinement of neck and muzzle, derives from the tradition of heraldic deer, such as the white hind of King Richard's mother,[3] but may owe something to direct study. Among gifts recorded in the Wardrobe Book running to 30th September 1393 is a sum of 13*s.* 4*d.* to John Shelwode of the Forest of Windsor for keeping a white hart from 'Cherburgh', presented to the king by Sir Stephen Scrope.[4] This white hart may well have been studied by the royal painters engaged in producing versions of their master's badge. Sir Stephen Scrope was, in the autumn of 1395, one of Richard's three ambassadors to Rome to press the suit for Edward II's canonization,[5] and later one of the faithful friends who stayed with their king to the last, Scrope bearing the sword before him when he met Henry of Lancaster between Flint and Chester.[6]

So much for the direct evidence; it is now necessary to enter the realm of conjecture to account for the making of the Diptych and for its unusual symbolism. From the evidence a date certainly later than the death of Anne of Bohemia in June 1394, but before the autumn of 1399, may be assumed. Furthermore, the insistent repetition of royal badges and the concentration of attention upon the figure of Richard himself, as well as the reminiscence of his dead queen, must have been the outcome of personal dictation by the king, while the display of his badge and arms on the outside of the panels as folded for transport proves that it was made to be his personal possession. The painting is then a reflection of Richard's mind during the last five years of his reign.

---

[1] Reproduced in E. W. Tristram, *English Wall-Painting of the 14th Century* (1955), pls. 10; cf. pls. 8*b*, 9, and pp. 36–37.

[2] While it is possible to trace Italian, French, Flemish, Bohemian, and Byzantine influences in the style of the painting, its overall impression is markedly different from that of the known works of any foreign country, but resembles the atmosphere of contemporary English wall- and panel-paintings and stained glass. For an admirable summing-up of the case for English authorship see T. Bodkin, *The Wilton Diptych*, pp. 10–14; among recent authorities, Borenius, Tristram, Dr. Evans, and Dr. Rickert accept an English origin. Professor Wormald, though stressing Italian contacts, fits the painting into the framework of English development.

[3] See H. S. London, *Royal Beasts* (1956), p. 65; Scharf, *op. cit.* pp. 42–45, 57.

[4] P.R.O., E. 101/403/22, f. 15: 'Johanni Shelwode de Foresta de Wyndesore de dono domini Regis pro custodia vnius Cerui albi de partibus de Chirburgh [Cherburgh—B.M., Add. MS. 35115] sibi presentati ex parte Stephani Scrop militis xiij.s. iiij.d.' The place may be Cherbourg in France, whence the English garrison was then being evacuated, or Chirbury in Shropshire.

A comparison has been instituted by Professor Wormald (*loc. cit.* p. 196) between the hart of the Diptych and the beautiful drawing of a stag in the sketchbook of Giovannino de Grassi, who died in 1398 (U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Künstlerlexikon*). There are significant differences: de Grassi's sketch is a lifelike view of a real stag, with its broad muzzle and heavy neck (the mane grown in the rutting season) and haunches, while the Diptych shows a refined beast with a greyhound-like muzzle and slender neck and quarters. This stylization of the deer in English heraldry can be traced back at least to 1382, the date of a fine seal (pl. XI, *c*) of Thomas de Holand, earl of Kent, Richard's half-brother, bearing a hind lying beneath a tree (Winchester College Muniments, *9693*, *9694*, two documents dated 26 Sept. 1382). This, like the hart of the Diptych, belongs rather to the insular tradition of linear design than to Italian representational realism.

[5] E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme* . . ., pp. 341–2.

[6] Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 275; see also pp. 259, 271, 277.

Much information exists as to the king's state of mind; to the possibility that it was affected by ill health I have already referred. To summarize briefly: Richard, a boy in his eleventh year, came to the throne in 1377, just fifty years after the deposition and murder of his great-grandfather, Edward II. Unlike Edward, Richard did not allow himself to become the puppet of rival factions, but fought rebellion by all means in his power, and it is as a vital part of the king's personal politic that the Wilton Diptych must be explained.

Among the predisposing causes of the king's psychology in his last years were the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, when the fourteen-year-old Richard made himself leader of the rebel commons under their banners of St. George; the overthrow of Richard's first personal government in 1387–8 and the ensuing tyranny of the Lords Appellant in the Merciless Parliament; the queen's sudden death in June 1394; and the renewed plottings of the baronage, quelled by Richard as he himself describes in his remarkable letter to Albert, duke of Bavaria, a document which betrays his state of nervous strain in 1397.[1]

The king had built up a party of royalist magnates by the end of 1396.[2] But ten years before he had threatened his parliament with the vengeance of the King of France, with whom he hoped to ally himself,[3] and by 1387 he had begun to take steps to secure the canonization of Edward II,[4] of whose miracles he sent a book to Pope Boniface IX in 1395.[5] The white harts painted on the Norman piers flanking Edward II's tomb at Gloucester indicate that Richard was linking his new movement to the cult of his murdered great-grandfather; the original paintings may be dated approximately by Richard's arrangement with the abbot and convent in April 1391, whereby they were to maintain certain lights and ornaments about the murdered king's shrine.[6]

The link between the king's religious outlook and his political activities later becomes more obvious.[1] The inscription surrounding his tomb in Westminster Abbey, evidently dictated by him between 1395 and 1397, declared that 'he threw down whomsoever violated the Royal Prerogative; overwhelmed heretics and laid low their friends',[2] while his will, made on 16th April 1399, after referring to his reign as 'a submission of our neck by the mercy of the Supreme King to the burden of the government of the English', makes large bequests to his successor conditional upon strict observance of statutes and ordinances made in 1397–9.[3] Meanwhile, on 16th January 1399,[4] Papal confirmation had already been obtained of the excommunication promulgated against all who should violate these statutes and ordinances,[5] which were both a formal reversal of the acts done against the royal supremacy in the parliaments of 1386 and 1388 and a solemn endorsement of the royal prerogative for all future time.

---

[1] B.M., Cotton MS. Galba B. i. 21, printed in J. Stevenson, *Wars of the English in France* (Rolls Series, 1861), i, pp. lxxv–lxxvi; and in *Œuvres de Froissart* (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 1874), xviii, 584–5. See Appendix II.

[2] A. Steel, *Richard II*, pp. 217 ff.

[3] E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme* . . ., p. 353. In the draft truce with France of 1st Jan. 1395/6 it was even stipulated that the French king, his brother, and his uncles should be allied to Richard against the latter's potentially rebellious subjects: 'Parensi que le Roy, son Friere, et les Uncles soient aliez ovec lui, encountre toutes maneres de Gentz, queux deussent en aucune manere obeir a lui, Et auxi de lui Aider et Susteigner ovec tout lour Povair encontre aucune de ses Subgiz' (Rymer, *Foedera*, vii, 811).

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 301, n. 3, 330, 341–2.

[5] F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 259; issues of Saturday, 24 Apr. 1395: 'et vnius libri de miraculis Edwardi nuper Regis Anglie cuius corpus apud villam Glouc. humatum existit' (E. 403/551, m.1). The efforts to obtain Edward's canonization are also referred to in a Memoranda Roll of 20 Ric. II (E. 159/173, Brevia directa Baronibus, Hilary Term, rot. 4^{v}), when the Bishop of London was discharged of £200 of arrears of subsidy in consideration of his having made payments including over 100 marks to the king's proctor in Rome for the process of canonization ('cent marcs et pluis a mestre William de Storteford nostre procuratour en la Court de Rome pur la canonizacion de nostre Besaiel Edward qui gist a Gloucestre').

No copy of the miracles attributed to Edward II seems to have survived; I am indebted to Mr. W. A. Pantin for much assistance in the attempt to trace them.

[6] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1388–92, p. 406; the arrangements were given papal ratification in December 1403 (*Cal. Papal Registers*, 1396–1404, pp. 598–600). The painting of white harts that now survives probably belongs to one of the repairs carried out at the expense of Oriel College in

To recapitulate: Richard II had moved for the canonization of Edward II, to destroy the awkward precedent of his deposition; obtained from parliament a complete traverse of all former actions which could be construed as attacks upon the theory that the king was supreme under God; took oaths from all three estates in support of this process, and amended the law of treason to preclude any fresh attempt at reversal. He obtained sentence of excommunication against violators of the new statutes and ordinances, and papal confirmation of the ban. On a material plane he raised a force of archers and put them into his livery of the White Hart,[6] while he placed his own nominees at key points of national and local administration. His

---

1737, 1789, and 1798 (inscription on pier west of tomb), but must represent an earlier scheme. I am indebted to the late Mr. R. P. Howgrave-Graham for drawing my attention to these paintings, and to the Rev. G. H. Fendick, Canon and Librarian of Gloucester Cathedral, for a copy of the inscription and other information.

[1] The intermingling of religious and political motives is a commonplace of the Middle Ages, and it would be a mistake to impute to Richard II any lack of sincerity in his religious outlook on the ground of its political implications. He was a most devout Catholic and obtained, for instance, a papal indult in 1397 that his chaplains might read the canonical hours after the use of the Friars Preachers, 'that being the use which the King reads daily' (*Cal. Papal Registers*, 1396–1404, p. 67). His benefactions to the Church were enormous: besides his contribution of £100 a year to the works of Westminster Abbey from 1387 onwards (R. B. Rackham in *Proc. British Academy*, iv, 1909–10, 40), he gave over £1,000 sterling as well as jewels to Canterbury Cathedral (B.M., Arundel MS. 68, f. 19). To give an approximate idea of the value of these gifts in terms of building costs at the present time (1957) they must be multiplied by 100 (for this factor see J. H. Harvey, *The Gothic World*, 1950, p. 42; plus allowance for subsequent fall in the value of money). As regards Canterbury, the Memoranda Rolls show that the king also advanced money to the Prior and Convent for the building of the west front ('la feseur de la gable de leur eglise') in 1396–7 (E. 159/172, Brevia Easter Term, rot. 9; —/173, Brevia Michaelmas Term, rot. 11), and to help the cathedral smithy, presumably engaged on the making of the ironwork for the great west window, in 1398–9 ('en eide de la forge de lesglise metropolitane de Canterburs'; —/175, Brevia Easter Term, rot. 5).

Richard also took a friendly interest in the founding of William of Wykeham's colleges, which he endowed with remarkable privileges in return for daily masses to be said for himself and his first queen (*Cal. Charter Rolls*, 1341–1417, p. 352; the text of the Winchester College privileges is printed in T. F. Kirby, *Annals of Winchester College*, 1892, pp. 452–5).

[2] 'Quemvis prostravit—regalia qui violavit; Obruit hereticos—et eorum stravit amicos'; for the whole inscription see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: *London*, i (1924), 31*a*.

[3] The text of the will is printed (from P.R.O., E. 23/1) in J. Nichols, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England, etc.* (1780), pp. 191–200; translation in J. H. Harvey, *The Plantagenets* (2nd ed., 1959, pp. 222–7).

[4] *Cal. Papal Registers*, 1396–1404, p. 259; cf. A. Steel, *op. cit.* p. 243.

[5] For an account of the Parliament of Shrewsbury see Steel, *op. cit.* pp. 241–3; Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 193–205.

[6] Steel, *op. cit.* p. 233; the number of archers was probably 400 (and not the 4,000 stated by the chronicler Adam of Usk). The Foreign Roll of 21 Ric. II (E. 364/32. H.) includes an account of the Keeper of the Privy Wardrobe in the Tower of London which shows that for the king's guard at the Parliament of Sept. 1397 there were issued 170 bows, 160 sheaves of arrows, 3 gross of bowstrings, 160 hatchets of war, and 30 breastplates. It does not follow that this issue of arms comprised all those used by the guard.

financial position was assured by a life-grant of the customs and other duties, and he got from parliament in 1398 a delegation of powers to a committee which he nominated.[1]

That these activities formed an organized campaign is certain; but must not such a campaign have involved an inner circle of pledged supporters? In the circumstances is it not likely that such a body of supporters took the form of a secret fraternity both religious and chivalric in character? It has been suggested that the eleven angels of the Diptych, all wearing the king's collar and badge, are Richard's companions,[2] and this must indeed be the truth. But it is less easy to suppose that the serene but gay angels of the painting are companions in an after-life than to accept them as cryptic symbols for the living members of an order not to be referred to openly; for here we come much closer to a satisfactory explanation of their number.[3]

To the initiated the eleven angels may have stood for the eleven members of the inner circle of an order founded in imitation of the number of the loyal apostles. That there is nothing unlikely in such a meaning is shown by the numerical symbolism of Wykeham's college at Winchester, where the warden and ten fellows were equivalent to the eleven faithful apostles, the two masters and seventy scholars to the seventy-two disciples, the three chaplains and three lay-clerks to the six faithful deacons, and the sixteen choristers to the number of the prophets. This scheme elaborated the statutes of Queen's College, Oxford, which expressly laid down that the warden and twelve fellows were appointed 'in imitation of the mystery of the career of Christ and his Apostles on Earth', while the school-boys were 'not to exceed the number of the seventy-two disciples of Christ'.[4]

To summarize these tentative conclusions: King Richard, embittered by opposition and by the death of his much loved queen, determined to carry out a policy, long had in mind, which should place the Crown beyond the reach of future attacks. To this end he built up the theory of kingship by divine right buttressed by religious sanctions and by every available political device. At the core of his policy there was to be a secret order, possibly inspired by Mézières's Order of the Passion, but devoted to the maintenance of divine government in England. The sovereign and eleven companions would represent the apostles and have at their head Christ himself, whose work on earth they were vowed to do. The Order was to be in a sense an esoteric counterpart of the Order of the Garter; while that had its headquarters publicly in Windsor Castle, the new body was to meet quietly wherever the king happened to be, perhaps in the specially enriched chapel of the Old Manor in Windsor Park, perhaps at King's Langley. For such gatherings the portable Diptych would form an ideal altar-piece.[5]

Let us return to it (pl. I), attempting to explain in order its chief features. The

---

[1] *Rot. Parl.* iii, p. 368*b*; Wallon, *op. cit.* ii, 203.

[2] Wormald, *loc. cit.* p. 201.

[3] For the number eleven in folk-lore see L. E. Broadwood and J. A. Fuller Maitland, *English County Songs* (1893), pp. 154–9; H. Bett, *Nursery Rhymes and Tales* (1924), pp. 49–55.

[4] A. K. Cook, *About Winchester College* (1917), pp. 97–99.

[5] The general purpose of all religious works of art is to excite devotion and to serve as foci for the contemplative act of prayer. Where figures of donors or other mundane personages are included, it is with the intention of asking for prayers on behalf of their good estate during life and for their souls after death. In such 'donor pictures' the main subject is taken from accepted religious iconography (Canonical and Apocryphal Scripture and the Lives of the Saints) and the 'donor' shown in prayer.

The Diptych, though superficially resembling a 'donor picture', does not belong to this type: its main subject is not otherwise known and Richard's posture is not that of focal point of the composition is the figure of the Blessed Virgin, here not Queen of Heaven alone, but also mystically of Britain, for the island was regarded as her dowry.[1] The earliest documentary reference to this tradition seems to occur in a letter written by Archbishop Arundel some six months after Richard's deposition, where the special duty of the English to surpass others in devotion to the Virgin was urged on the ground that we are 'the servants of her special inheritance and her own Dowry, as we are commonly called'.[2] This view can be traced back and linked to King Richard II himself, for there existed until at least the seventeenth century, in the English Hospice or College at Rome, a painting of five panels in which figures heraldically identifiable as Richard II and Anne of Bohemia offer to the Virgin the island of Britain. Two partial descriptions of this painting survive, one referring to the king as being presented by St. George in armour,[3] the other to St. John as being his sponsor;[4] probably both saints appeared, the latter presumably the Baptist, for whom Richard felt a special veneration. In the tomb inscription occurs the prayer: 'O merciful Christ, to Whom he was devoted, save him through the prayers of the Baptist who presented him',[5] a phrase which might be describing the scene in the Diptych and perhaps also that of the polyptych in Rome, which bore the verse: *Dos tua, Virgo pia, haec est; quare rege Maria* (This is thy dowry, holy Virgin; wherefore be Mary, our queen).

Small engravings of the two royal figures (pl. XII) were published in 1638 by the Roman herald Silvester Petra-Sancta;[6] that of the king shows that he had already a small moustache and forked beard, as on the effigy, suggesting that the date of the

---

prayer. The painting's specific purpose must therefore have been in any case quite exceptional (cf. Tristram in *The Month*, 1949, i, 380–1). Had it been a memorial picture inviting prayers for Richard's soul, its iconography would have been normal.

It seems certain that the collars of broom-cods have a central importance, and they clearly associate Richard with the eleven angels. The angels are therefore not simply the Court of Heaven, for even if Richard's concept of his own Divine Right reached the proportions of megalomania, so devout a Catholic would hardly have suggested that the Heavenly Court would wear his personal livery. The angels are then certainly symbolic; their collars might indeed be symbolic also, marking attachment to the known livery of the King of France; but this view is greatly weakened by the dissimilarity of the collars to that known to have been presented to Richard, and also by the lack of any more overt reference to France. It has been argued (by J. G. Nichols and Miss Clarke, among others) that the lack of evidence for the making of collars of broom-cods in England, in spite of the exhaustive researches of Ashmole and Anstis carried out when many more of the accounts of the Royal Wardrobe were available than now survive, proves that the collars of the Diptych are those of the French Order. Yet it is difficult to avoid the inference that English collars were made (see below, p. 23, n. 4), though only for private use, and this secrecy accounts for the absence of a broom-cod collar from the king's effigy, where one would otherwise have been expected, and from all other known representations of Richard.

In *The Arts, Artists and Thinkers*, edited by John M. Todd (1958), Mr. Eric John writes on 'Faith and Works in Mediaeval Art', trenchantly criticizing the Wilton Diptych (pp. 51–53) on the ground that it represents 'a thoroughly secular arrogance and pride' and 'violates every canon of propriety based on the Gospels and the established norm of Christian tradition'. Such strictures are based on the supposition that the Diptych is a memorial picture, and would be only too well justified if the angels represented simply the Court of Heaven welcoming a deceased monarch. But set in relation to Richard's known orthodoxy (see p. 17, n. 1 above) this line of argument becomes an additional proof that the picture cannot have been a memorial, and that it must have had a purpose in which the sacred and the secular were worthily united.

[1] M. Alford, *Annales Ecclesiastici et Civiles Britannorum—Fides Regia Britannica* (Leodii, 1663), i, 57; E. Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica* (1879), p. 13; T. E. Bridgett, *Our Lady's Dowry* (4th ed., ? 1899), pp. v–vii, 1 ff., 217; C. Coupe, in *The Month*, June 1895, pp. 229–42.

[2] D. Wilkins, *Concilia* (1737), iii, 246.

[3] B.M. Harleian MS. 360, f. 98^{v}; printed in Bridgett, see n. 1 above.

[4] S. Petra-Sancta (Pietrasanta), *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (Rome, 1638), pp. 677–8.

[5] 'O clemens Christe—cui devotus fuit iste; Votis Baptiste—salves quem pretulit iste'; see above, p. 18, n. 2.

[6] S. Petra-Sancta, *op. cit.* p. 677; reproduced by Coupe, see above, n. 1.

painting must have been after the death of Anne of Bohemia.[1] A possible occasion for the offering of the Roman painting took place in 1396, when a second hospice for English pilgrims in Rome was founded across Tiber.[2]

Turning to the left panel of the Wilton Diptych, we are faced by the Baptist and three kings, including Richard; as has often been remarked, this alludes to Richard's birth on the feast of the Epiphany, 6th January 1367.[3] But instead of the Magi it is the living king and the two great royal saints of England, Edmund and Edward the Confessor, who are present in adoration of the Holy Child. We may suspect that the martyred Edmund is doubling the part of the murdered Edward II, whose canonization was sought but not yet obtained.[4]

The king's sponsors introduce him kneeling, ready to perform his homage before the Queen of Heaven, and of England, as if to a feudal suzerain for his fief. His open hands are about to receive the foot of the Holy Child, which he will kiss in performance of his fealty.[5] Later he will take seisin by being invested with the symbolic standard of St. George, held ready by one of the Court of Angels. That this standard is the national emblem and not a spiritual sign of Redemption or Resurrection is shown by its staff having no cross, but ending in an orb of sovereignty.[6] St. George's flag was already established as a national emblem when it was used by the rebels of 1381;[7] ninety-two standards of the arms of St. George were issued for the Scottish expedition of 1385,[8] and six 'penselx de Seint Georges' were among Richard's banners found in the castle of Haverfordwest after his fall.[9]

---

[1] It seems highly probable that the Diptych and the Roman polyptych were two related parts of a single artistic programme in Richard's mind, and that they were of approximately the same date, soon after the death of Anne of Bohemia and before the king's remarriage. That the Diptych is associated with the *Dos Mariae* and the Roman painting was suggested by H. Thurston in *The Month*, July 1929, pp. 27 ff.

If, as has been suggested (Joan Evans in *Archaeological Journal*, cv, 1 ff.), the saints of the left panel symbolize Richard's ancestors, the figure of the Blessed Virgin would naturally be equated with his dead queen; such symbolism is quite possible even without actual portraiture being intended. See also n. 4 below.

[2] A. Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome* (1920), p. 31.

[3] E. W. Tristram in *The Month*, 1949, i, 387. Not only was Richard born on Twelfth Day, but there is some historic basis for the legend that three kings brought him gifts: at his christening there were present James (IV), titular King of Majorca, his principal sponsor; Peter the Cruel, King of Castile; and perhaps Charles (II) of Navarre also.

[4] See above, n. 1. Whether or no the faces of the saints were intended as portraits of Richard's ancestors their figures may have had an ancestral symbolism (cf. M. Galway in *Archaeological Journal*, cvii, 11), which would at least agree with their order and apparent ages: St. Edmund = Edward II (aged 43 at his death); St. Edward = Edward III (aged 64, but senile); and St. John, Richard's special patron = the Black Prince, his earthly father (aged 46 at his death).

[5] E. W. Tristram, *English Wall-Painting of the 14th Century*, pp. 55–56; the case seems to be irrefutable, and if the action depicted is the preparation for performance of homage, it necessarily follows that this will shortly be complemented by the delivery of some object symbolizing the fief for which fealty has been rendered: exactly such a symbol is the standard of St. George so prominently shown.

[6] Although the banner of the Resurrection sometimes appears in Italian painting without a cross on the staff, the cross-staff seems to be universal in northern art of the Middle Ages. In any case, the orb surmounting the staff in the Diptych is too heavily emphasized to have a merely decorative value.

[7] C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381* (1906, p. 53). The significance of St. George's flag is national, and symbolizes the whole body-politic of 'England' as distinct from the English Crown, with its inherited arms. The use of the banner of St. George as a rallying-point and of the St. George's cross as a uniform by English troops is referred to in the 'Statutes of the Hoste' drawn up for the English army on 17 June 1386 (B.M., Harleian MS. 1309, ff. 36^{v}, 37). It is clear from Richard's will (see above, p. 18 and n. 3) that the concept of 'the government of the English' as a specific task placed upon him by divine authority, was present in his mind.

[8] P.R.O., E. 364/30. E: 'in obsequio ipsius Regis ad partes Scocie mensibus Julij et Augusti anno ix^{o} ac eciam de diuersis standardis de armis Regis ac armis Sancti Georgij quolibet cum vno leopardo in capite . . . xxxviij standard. de armis domini Regis iiij^{xx}xij standard. de armis Sancti Georgij cum leopardo in capite.'

[9] F. Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars* . . ., iii, 359.

The Holy Child, whose right hand shows that He is about to bestow a benediction,[1] gestures towards the standard, making its central importance clear. That the Child's nimbus should bear the crown of thorns and the nails is not difficult to understand if the Diptych is roughly contemporary with the propaganda for Mézières' Order of the Passion, which was but a special instance of an increase in devotion to the Passion of Christ which was widespread in the period.[2] Even more specifically, there may be an allusion to the cult of the crown of thorns and the nails which Richard's father-in-law the Emperor Charles IV had proposed to spread throughout Germany.[3]

The angels represent the inner circle of Richard's followers: they wear chaplets of roses, both in honour of the Virgin, whose flower the rose is, and as the floral emblem associated with English royalty since the time of Henry III.[4] The roses of the chaplets are alternately of two kinds, and so comparable with the enamelled red and white roses of a gold chaplet among Richard's jewels.[5] The angels' badges of the White Hart mark them as Richard's supporters, the collars of broom-cods as his companions in some more intimate sense, linked with the pattern woven into the king's robe.[6]

---

[1] Many authors have followed Scharf (*op. cit.* p. 49) in considering that the Child's hand 'does not imply benediction' because not fully turned outwards, but the argument is rightly rejected by Tristram (*The Month*, 1949, i, 382). Since Richard is shown, not as actually performing, but as *about to perform*, his homage, it is logical that the Child should be shown about to bless. The artist has obviously taken advantage of the Child's uncompleted gesture to emphasize the importance of the standard on His right.

[2] Tristram in *The Month*, 1949, i, 390.

[3] F. de Mély in *Revue de l'art chrétien*, xlix (1900), 397–8; in Riant, *Exuviae Sacrae Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1904), iii, 344–5, 370; cf. *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, x, 672, as to one of the holy nails at Prague. For Richard's imperial ambitions see below, p. 23, n. 1.

[4] The flowers of the Diptych appear to be used both as religious and secular symbols. The rose and the fleur-de-lis were emblematic of the Blessed Virgin and of purity as well as of England and France. (See Tristram in *The Month*, 1949, ii, 24; and, for the use of roses as decoration, W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the Kings' Craftsmen*, 1906, pp. 49–54.) I am indebted to Miss A. P. Wylie for much information on the varieties of rose cultivated in the Middle Ages, and particularly for pointing out the confusion (e.g. in Lethaby, *loc. cit.*) between the quite distinct Provence (or Cabbage) and Provins (or Apothecary's) roses; and to Mr. G. S. Thomas, who informs me that in his view 'all the roses depicted are . . . only symbolical of the rose; none appear . . . to represent any particular species'. This supports the view that the artist of the Diptych was working in the tradition of English stylized naturalism rather than that of Italian realism (see above, p. 16, n. 4).

Apart from roses and fleurs-de-lis, the right panel of the Diptych includes two large daisies or marguerites and (to right of the Virgin's robe) a blue periwinkle ('peruynke' is among the herbs of 'Jon Gardener', printed in *Archaeologia*, liv, 157–72). On the back, to right and left of the hart are recognizable fronds of bracken, while the smaller flowers include considerable numbers of either forget-me-not (*Myosotis*) or borage. Among Richard's jewels (Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars* . . ., p. 338, No. 160) was a belt garnished with flowers of borage: 'Itm. i. autre seynture le tissu rouge blank et bloy garnis ove floures de burrage et autres blanks flours et petitz sonetz pois ii.lb. v. unc.' The forget-me-not was certainly a royal badge, but seems to have been particularly used by Henry IV (for the botanical identification of the mediaeval 'forget-me-not' see G. F. Beltz in *Retrospective Review*, N.S. ii (1828), 507, where *Teucrium chamaedrys* and *Veronica chamaedrys* are suggested as possible alternatives to *Myosotis* spp.).

[5] F. Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars* . . ., iii, 356. No. 326 in the Inventory of 1400 is: 'Item un chapelet fait de xiiii overages d'or frettez ove roses rouges et blankes amiles chescun overage de xiii ove .ix. perles et un overage de .xii. perles pendantz.' It should be noted that none of the roses of the angels' chaplets is single, like the native briar, as mistakenly stated by E. A. Bunyard, *Old Garden Roses* (1936), pp. 49–50. Probably the red and white roses had a personal association with Anne of Bohemia, for the Inventory of 1400 also includes a belt with crowned 'A's and red and white roses (Palgrave, *op. cit.* p. 338, No. 167: 'Item i. autre seynture le tissu noir garnis ove lettres de A. coronez et floures de roses rouges et blancz pois ix. unc.'

[6] The badges worn by the angels are dark green with a fine black outline; not black, as stated by Dr. M. Galway (*Archaeological Journal*, cvii, 12) and by Dr. Evans (*L'Œil*, Christmas 1956, p. 18); hence no conclusion that the Diptych has a specifically mourning character can be drawn. I am much indebted to Mr. Martin Davies for checking this point with the Diptych itself.

The angels are remarkable, as Scharf pointed out (*op. cit.* p. 51), for the raised position of their wings. To the few instances quoted by him of this peculiarity may be added the large carved figure of the Archangel Raphael

The appurtenances of Richard's figure have certainly a special significance. That he wears crown and robe denotes that he is an anointed king, in virtue of which rank he seeks from the Blessed Virgin investiture with the governance of England, her dowry. The eagles are a reminder of the pallium of the coronation.[1] The broom-cod collars can hardly allude merely to the marriage with Isabella of France; if this were so there would be more overt heraldic references to the union. Considered in relation to the use of the broom-plant both by Richard himself and by his successor Henry IV, they point to a conscious revival of claims going back to Geoffrey Plantagenet, and a resolve to rival the House of Valois in asserting rights to this symbolism.[2] The collars must have a much more central meaning than a simple allusion to the prospect of a French alliance; Richard will then have deliberately chosen the collar of broom-cods as a means of symbolically investing himself with the power and claims of the French king, reinforcing his own ultimate claims to the throne of France, and alluding to the broom-plant badge of his ancestor Geoffrey of Anjou.[3]

There is at least one piece of evidence apart from the Diptych to suggest that actual collars were made and distributed: the inclusion in the inventory of Henry V's jewels taken after his death,[4] not only of '1 coler d'or de Bromecoddes' weighing less than 2 oz., but also of another and much more valuable collar of broom-cods weighing $7\frac{1}{2}$ oz. troy, which had been among the jewels forfeited by Lord l'Escrope, that is to say the third Baron le Scrope of Masham, executed for his part in the Ricardian conspiracy of 1415. It differed from the collars of broom-cods of the livery of the King of France inventoried after Richard's fall, for these latter weighed $13\frac{1}{4}$, $6\frac{1}{2}$, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ oz. respectively.[5]

I owe to Dr. Joan Evans the suggestion that the varying weights of the collars of the livery of the King of France (which may be presumed to have been more or less standardized) may be interpreted as 'dress' and 'undress' patterns of the Order of

---

above the entrance (1399–1402) of the Barcelona Town Hall, by the sculptor Jordí de Déu; and in England those of *c.* 1325 on the vaulting of the south choir aisle of Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford (Tristram, *English Wall-Painting of the 14th Century*, p. 232, pl. 26).

[1] It may be, as suggested by Tristram (*The Month*, 1949, i, 388–90) that the coronation symbolism in the Diptych is connected, at least in part, with Richard's desire to be reanointed with the Holy Oil of St. Thomas 'rediscovered' in the time of Edward II. The prophecy that the first king of the English to be anointed with it should recover the land in France lost by his forefathers, be greatest among kings, build many churches in the Holy Land and put the heathen to flight from Babylon (L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, 1901, p. 170) accords with Richard's wide ambitions and with his long continued attempts to obtain the Imperial Crown, carried on secretly from 1394 and more openly in 1397 (Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'Occident*, pp. 342–3).

[2] See above, p. 8, n. 7.

[3] Consideration of the unyielding prosecution of the English king's hereditary claims to France, even by Richard himself in his negotiations for an alliance with Charles VI, makes it most unlikely that the broom-plant could have been adopted for no reason beyond a desire to compliment the King of France. At the same time it is probable that the usage was intentionally ambiguous.

[4] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iv (1783), 220, 225. The first collar is inventoried among 'L'Estuff de Meaux': 'Item I Coler d'or de Bromecoddes, ovec I Saph' et II Perles, pris vi.s. viii.d. pois' xxxvii.d. dount abatez v.d. de poys, pris de l'unce xxiii.s. iiii.d.—en tout xLiv.s.' The other, among 'Les biens de S'r l'Escrop, en le gard' du d' Garderober' (viz. Robert Rolleston), is described as: 'Item, I Coler d'or de Bromecoddes, pois' de Troie vii vnc' di, pris l'unce xxiii.s. iiii.d.—viii.li. xv.s.'

[5] Palgrave: *Antient Kalendars* . . ., iii, 354, 357: No. 307, 'Item i. coler d'or du livere de Roi de Fraunceys ove i. bone baleys quarre parentre bones perles rondes ove vi. autres bons perles einz deux cas de jenestres pois—xiii. unc. i. quart'; No. 332, 'Item un colare de livere du Roi de Fraunce cont. ix. overages de genestres garnisez de iiii. baleys iii. saphirs xxvii. perles pois vi. unc. et dī'; No. 333, 'Item un coler d'or de mesme la livere plein pois ii. unc. et. dī.' It does not seem that the French collar made to Charles VI's order for Richard (see above, p. 9, n. 1) can be identified with any of those described in the English inventories.

the Cosse de Geneste. On this supposition the heaviest collar would be that presented to Richard personally, and the other two types the ordinary dress and undress forms.

Apart from theories which strain both the evidence and our credulity, no solution is left other than that already outlined: that the Diptych was the personal creation of Richard II between 1394 and 1399; that it was probably painted between the summer of 1394 and the autumn of 1395, shortly before he grew a beard, and presumably in the shop of his court painters; and that it symbolizes the core of his purpose: his rededication to the cause of the English royal prerogative as the instrument of God on earth; and his foundation of a brotherhood leagued with him to achieve his end.

No more than conjecture is possible as to the fate of the Diptych at Richard's fall. Almost certainly the painting would have travelled with the king to Ireland in the summer of 1399 and back again to Conway. But from the time of Richard's betrayal it would have been borne off for safe keeping by one of his little band of devoted servants, which included Stephen Scrope and the earl of Salisbury. With jewels and plate which may have belonged to the order it was put away, perhaps in the chapel of a manor-house such as the Hyde, whither Salisbury could have taken it between his release from imprisonment and his death at Cirencester. And there, forgotten and misunderstood, we must leave it.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I here express my thanks to those who have eased my path and made my research possible: to the staffs of the National Gallery, the Public Record Office, the British Museum, the Principal Probate Registry, and the National Portrait Gallery; to the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College; to the College of Arms; to Miss Evelyn Jamison, Professor May McKisack, Dr. Pamela Tudor-Craig, the Dean of Gloucester, Sir Hilary Jenkinson, and Messrs. Claude Blair, Dennis King, the late H. Stanford London, Oliver Millar, Arthur Oswald, W. A. Pantin, F. I. G. Rawlins, L. F. Salzman, E. A. Sollars, Arnold Taylor, Anthony Wagner, J. R. Whitfield, and Dr. George Zarnecki; for help on several botanical points to Miss A. P. Wylie and Messrs. J. E. Lousley and G. S. Thomas; and in connexion with French sources to the late M. Jean Maunoury and M. Jean Chazelas. I owe a special debt to the late Professor Tristram for his encouragement at an early stage; to Dr. Joan Evans, Professor Wormald, and the late Mr. Howgrave-Graham; and finally to Mr. Martin Davies who with quite extraordinary generosity opened to me the results of his own researches of very many years.

APPENDIX I

GENEALOGY OF THE JENYN(S), JENYNGS, OR JENNINGS FAMILY

As shown above (pp. 2–3), the Lady Jenings from whom Charles I obtained the Diptych was either Alice (*née* Spencer), wife of Sir John Jenyngs the younger, or Dorothy (*née* Bulbeck), widow of Sir John Jenyngs the elder. Here the wills of the families concerned will be summarized in the following order: (A) Jenyngs descents; (B) Spencer descents; (C) Bulbeck descents. All facts of artistic interest are mentioned, but no attempt is here made to provide adequate genealogical abstracts.

(A) Sir John Jenyngs the younger (died 1642) was the son of Sir John Jenyngs the elder by his first wife Anne, daughter of Sir William BROUNKER (died 1596) of Erlestoke, Wilts., whose will made 22 Mar. 1595/6 was proved 30 Oct. 1596 (P.C.C. 70 Drake). Among bequests to servants, £5 was left to 'Richard the Armourour'. For the earlier pedigrees of BROUNKER of Melksham see G. W. Marshall, *Visitation of Wiltshire, 1623* (1882), pp. 49–50. Anne Brounker was a daughter of Sir William by his second wife Martha, daughter of Sir Walter MILDMAY of Apethorpe, Northants., whose will of 2 Apr. with codicil of 24 May, proved 16 June 1589 (P.C.C. 51 Leicester), bequeaths to Mary Brouncker, eldest daughter of 'my daughter Martha', £100 and a little pointed diamond in a ring, valued at 30*s*.

Sir John Jenyngs the elder, of Sandridge, Herts., and Churchill, Som., became a lunatic and died intestate on 2 Oct. 1609 (see above, p. 3, n. 8). He was the son of Ralph JENYNS of Vann, Surrey, and Churchill, Som. (died 1572), by his wife Joan, daughter of Henry BROUNKER of Melksham, Wilts., and half-sister of Sir William Brounker (see above). The will of Ralph JENYNS, made 20 Nov. 1571 and proved 9 May 1572 (P.C.C. 14 Daper), provides that his executors should 'buye one great marble stone to lye vpon my grave and my pictur to be made and graven in latten with myne armes and picture of my wief and viij children that is to witt v boyes and iii maydens'. His jewels were bequeathed to his son Thomas Jenyns, with remainder to his son John Jenyns.

Ralph Jenyns was the son of Barnard JENYN(S) (died 1552), citizen and skinner of London, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph ROWLETT (died 1543). The will of Barnard Jenyn, made 6 July 1551 and proved 26 May 1552 (P.C.C. 15 Powell), requested burial in St. Anthony's church, London, 'in the fore part near the graves of my two wives'. His executors were to provide a marble stone 'with pictures of myself and my iii wives Elizabeth, Jone and Elyn and two sons and a daughter and iiii scochyns of my arms and the arms of my craft'. Bequests included £5 to the repairs of St. Anthony's, £20 to the church of St. Mary Bothawe, where he was a parishioner, for making a window at the west end, and £2 to the repairs of St. Nicholas in Guildford 'where I was christened'. The bequests of specified jewels to his wife Elyn and of a standing cup to William JENYN his brother, Dean of Gloucester, have been detailed above (p. 3).

The will of Elyn JENYN, widow of Barnard Jenyn, made 18 Nov. 1552 and proved 27 Mar. 1553 (P.C.C. 6 Tashe) requests burial in the church of St. Mary Bothawe 'near John CORTES my late husband and my sister', refers to silk, ribbon, points, etc. 'in my shop', as well as leases of properties in London and Clapham, Surrey, and bequeaths 13*s*. 4*d*. to the mending of the well at Clapham. For the earlier pedigree of JENYN(S) see H. C. Andrews, 'Notes on the Roulett and Jennings Families' in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 5th ser. viii (1932–4), 88–108; *Visitations of Hertfordshire, 1572 and 1634* (Harleian Society, xxii, 1886), pp. 147–8.

The will of Ralph ROWLETT the elder Esq., merchant of the Staple of Calais, made 16 Feb. and proved 12 Mar. 1542/3 (P.C.C. 17 Spert), requests that he should be buried in St. Albans Abbey, in the Lady Chapel or the chapel of St. Andrew, and bequeaths to his wife Elizabeth his household stuff, the manor of Sandridge, and custody for life of 'a Chalesse, a paire of Cruetts, a paire of Candelsticks of silver, one pax of Ivery garnysshed with siluer', all which were to pass at her death to his son Affabell Rowlett 'with all other my ornaments belonging to my aulter at Corambery', and all the store of Gorhambury. To his son Ralph Rowlett were left the ornaments of the altar in a house in St. Albans and the household stuff in 'my chamber at London', while his son-in-law Barnard Jennyn was left a cup of silver and gilt price £5.

(B) Alice, wife of Sir John Jenyngs the younger, was daughter of Sir Richard SPENCER of Offley, Herts. (died 1624), by his wife Helen, daughter of Sir John BROCKET. Sir Richard Spencer, by his will of 30 Mar. 1623, proved 26 Nov. 1624 (P.C.C. 98 Byrde), desired to be buried in the chancel of Offley church 'near my late wife Dame Ellen Spencer', and left to his son Brockett Spencer all the household stuff in the tenement 'where one Mr. Powell dwells in Drwery Lane' near London.

Helen BROCKET, wife of Sir Richard Spencer, was daughter of Sir John BROCKET of Brocket Hall, Herts. (died 1558), by his wife Helen, daughter of Sir Robert LYTTON of Knebworth, Herts. (died 1551). Sir John Brocket, by his will made 14 Aug. 1556 and proved 3 May 1558 (P.C.C. 18 Noodes), desired to be buried in the parish church of Whethamsted 'in the chapel where my Ancestors be buried' and bequeathed to his second wife Margaret all his household stuff until her death or remarriage, with remainder to his son Edward Brocket. Among the witnesses is Sir Rauf Rowlett, knight, son of Ralph Rowlett the elder.

Sir Robert LYTTON made his will on 5 July 1550 and it was proved 30 Mar. 1551 (P.C.C. 9 Bucke); he wished to be buried in the Jesus Chapel of the parish church of Knebworth 'near my late father', and left many bequests of specified pieces of furniture and clothing.

Sir John SPENCER (died 1586/7), father of Sir Richard Spencer, by his will of 4 Jan. 1585/6, proved 13 Jan. 1586/7 (P.C.C. 1 Spencer), desired to be buried in Brinton church by his late wife Dame Katherine Spencer, and that his executors should make one tomb for both. He left to his son John Spencer 'all my timber, stone and brick remaining' in Wormeleighton, and in Bodington, Northants., and all the household stuff, furniture, and armour in 'Oldthropp' (Althorp), and Brinton, and the brewing vessels at Wormeleighton, while all other stuff there was to go to his son Thomas Spencer.

Katherine, wife of Sir John Spencer, was the daughter of Sir Thomas KITSON (died 1540) of Hengrave, Suffolk, by his wife Margaret DONNINGTON. Sir Thomas Kitson made a will concerning his manors and lands on 11 Sept. 1540 and it was proved 22 Sept. (P.C.C. 30 Spert).

Sir John Spencer was son of Sir William SPENCER (1498–1532) of Althorp, Northants., by Susan daughter of Sir Richard KNIGHTLEY of Fawsley, Northants. (died 1535). Sir William, by his will made 17 June 1532 and proved 8 July 1532 (P.C.C. 16 Thower), desired to be buried in the church of Brington, and that his executors should 'glase the new chapell' there, where he had appointed a chantry priest. Sir William's father, Sir John SPENCER of Wormeleighton, Warwickshire, made his will on 12 Apr. 1522 and it was proved 16 June 1522 (P.C.C. 24 Maynwaryng). He wished to be buried in the chancel of 'Brynketon' (Brington) Church, Northants., where his executors were to make a tomb 'as nygh to the wall as they canne behynde the Sepulture' to be made 'well and conyngly' for £20. They were to spend £60 on making the chancel roof with lead, walls, and windows, in which his arms were to be set; and also to have made an image of Our Lady with a tabernacle and gilding 'after the patron of oon maister [*sic*] caused to be made at Banbury and to be made by the same man that made his orells by som other'. His executors were also to gild the rood-loft and chancel roof at Wormeleighton, as well as certain images there, and to repair the chancel of 'Stonton'. To the abbot, canons, and novices of Kenilworth he left £20 for the repairs of their church and monastery.

Sir Richard KNIGHTLEY of Fawsley, Northants., made his will on 22 Jan. 1528/9 and it was proved 10 Feb. 1534/5 (P.C.C. 23 Hogen). He wished to be buried in the chancel of 'Faullesley' before the image of Our Lady.

(C) Dorothy, second wife of Sir John Jenyngs the elder, was the daughter of Thomas BULBECK of Clevedon and Kingston Seymour, Somerset, by his wife Ursula, daughter of Robert GRAY (died 1561) of Kenilworth, Warwickshire. Thomas Bulbeck died intestate, administration being granted on 28 Mar. 1613 to Lady Dorothy Jennings, widow, his daughter (*Proc. of Somerset Archaeological, etc., Society*, xxxi, 43; cf. F. W. Weaver, *Visitations of Co. Somerset*, 1885, p. 98).

Thomas Bulbeck was the son of John BULBECK of Kingston Seymour by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Richard WAKE of Eastwell, Northants. The will of Thomas Bulbeck's father-in-law, Robert GREY of Kenilworth, was made on 4 Mar. 1559/60 and proved on 16 Aug. 1561 (P.C.C. 27 Loftes).

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM RICHARD II TO ALBERT OF BAVARIA, COUNT OF HAINAULT

(1397?). Printed in Joseph Stevenson, *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth* (Rolls Series, 1861), vol. i, pp. lxxv–lxxvi; and in *Œuvres de Froissart* (ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove), xviii, 1874, pp. 584–5; from British Museum, MS. Cotton Galba B. i, 21 (*f.* 22).

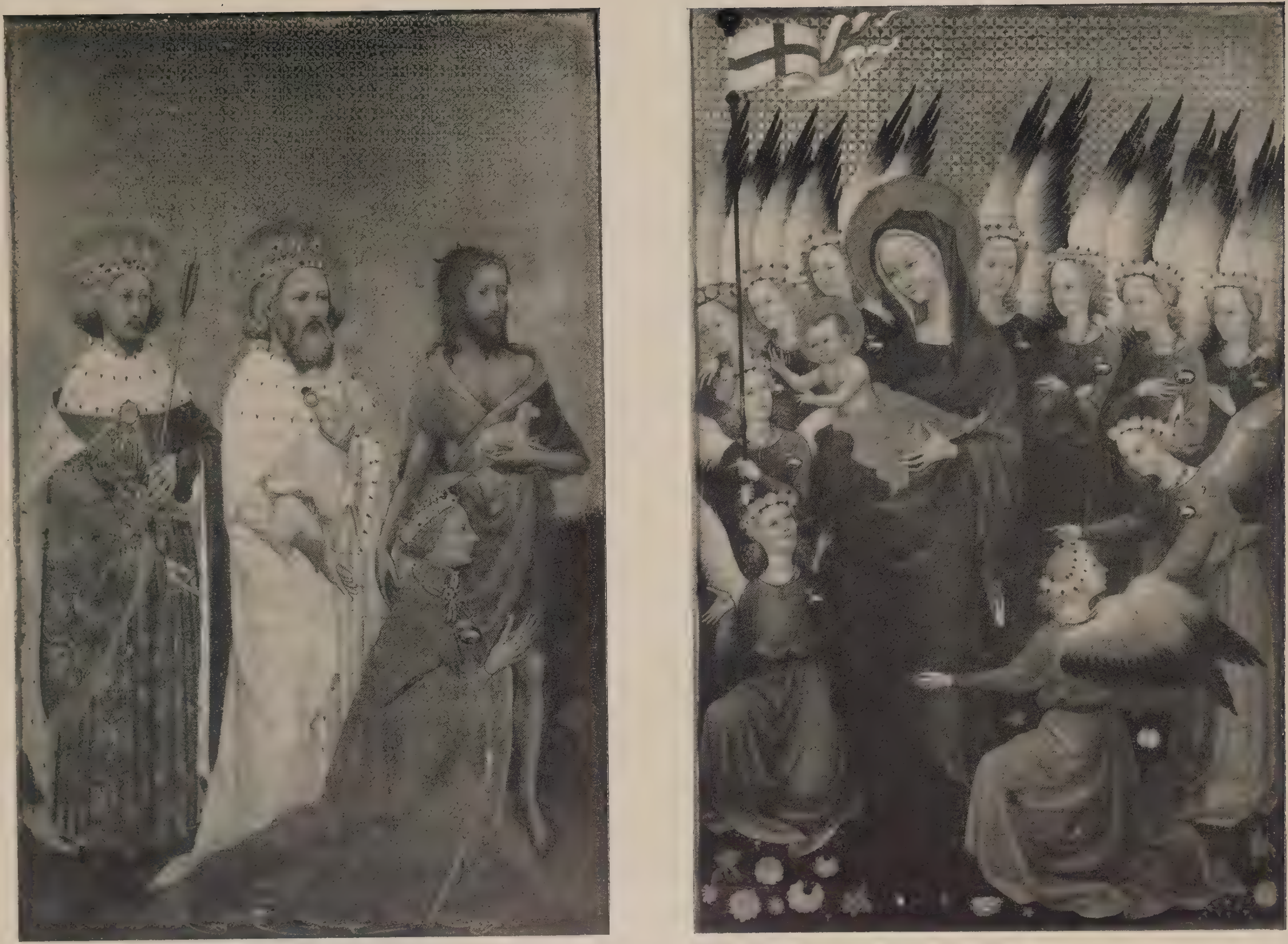
Ricardus dei gratia rex Angliae et Franciae et dominus Hiberniae nobili et potenti viro Alberto duci Bavariae comiti Holandiae et Zelandiae amico nostro carissimo, salutem et votivorum successuum continuam ubertatem.

Altissimo mentium inspectori in cujus manu nedum corda sed corpora consistunt regum et principum, humiles et devotas gratiarum actiones impendimus, qui nostrum regale solium ac personam nostram ab ipsis cunabulis de manibus inimicorum omnium et praesertim domesticorum et intraneorum, quorum machinatio omni peste dinoscitur perniciosior, potenti sua dextera sub felicibus auspiciis hucusque protexit. Domestici quidem nostri viri nobiles et proceres, quos honoravimus, quos ad honorum fastigia proveximus, quibus manum munificam aperuimus et sinceris amplexibus tractavimus, jam dudum, dum in annis teneris agebamus, in exhaeredationem nostrae coronae et usurpationem nostrae regaliae proditorie conspirantes, cum pluribus iniquitatis suae fautoribus, manu forti contra voluntatem regiam se levarunt, ac fideles nostros morti publice condempnantes et quicquid eis placuit ad libitum exequentes, sic omnem jurisdictionem regalem, in rebus nostris familiaribus grassando, nequiter usurparunt quod, vix ultra nomen regium nobis aliquid relinquentes, malitiam suam etiam usque in personam nostram moliti sunt dampnabiliter derivare. Et licet mansuetudo regia tempus sufficiens quo ad cor redirent et poenitentiae fructus facerent, dictis proditoribus indulserit, ita tamen in profundo malorum radicata videbatur eorum obstinacia quod justo Dei judicio exacta fuit nostra vindex severitas in eorum perniciem et interitum personarum; sicque, comitante nobis Dei providentia, dexteras nostrae potentiae collegimus et in manu forti dictos proditores confessos et convictos contrivimus ac usque ad corticem excussimus et morti naturali vel civili addiximus, pacem reddentes nostris subditis pro perpetuo per Dei gratiam duraturam. Verum, quia immanitas suorum scelerum majorem poenam quam quae in personas agitare poterat, requirebat, ideo in eorum perpetuum obprobrium in haeredes suos qui de cetero ad honorum fastus non debent ascendere, sed omni dignitate ac privilegio quibus ad fastigia pervenitur imperpetuum excludentur, fecimus eorum poenam perpetuari ut discat futura posteritas quid sit regiam offendere magestatem quantiscumque sub annis teneris constitutam: filius enim mortis est, qui regem offendit. Haec, amice carissime, cur sic seriose reteximus causam, subjungimus ut cautelam ex alieno periculo et provisionem ad futura sumat Vestra Nobilitas, retundanturque confusione eorum vultus qui contra regem Christum dominum moliuntur iniqua, ac per poenae immanitatem arceantur a consimilibus perpetrandis, quodque nostrorum felicium successuum congeries qui vobis, ut plene confidimus, materiam consolationis ministrat et gaudii, per hanc nostram relationem plenius innotescat. Et quaesumus vestram personam in prosperis successibus diu conservet incolumem omnipotens Deus noster.

TRANSLATION

Richard by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland to the high and mighty Albert, Duke of Bavaria, Count of Holland and Zealand, our very dear friend, greeting and continued success in his undertakings.

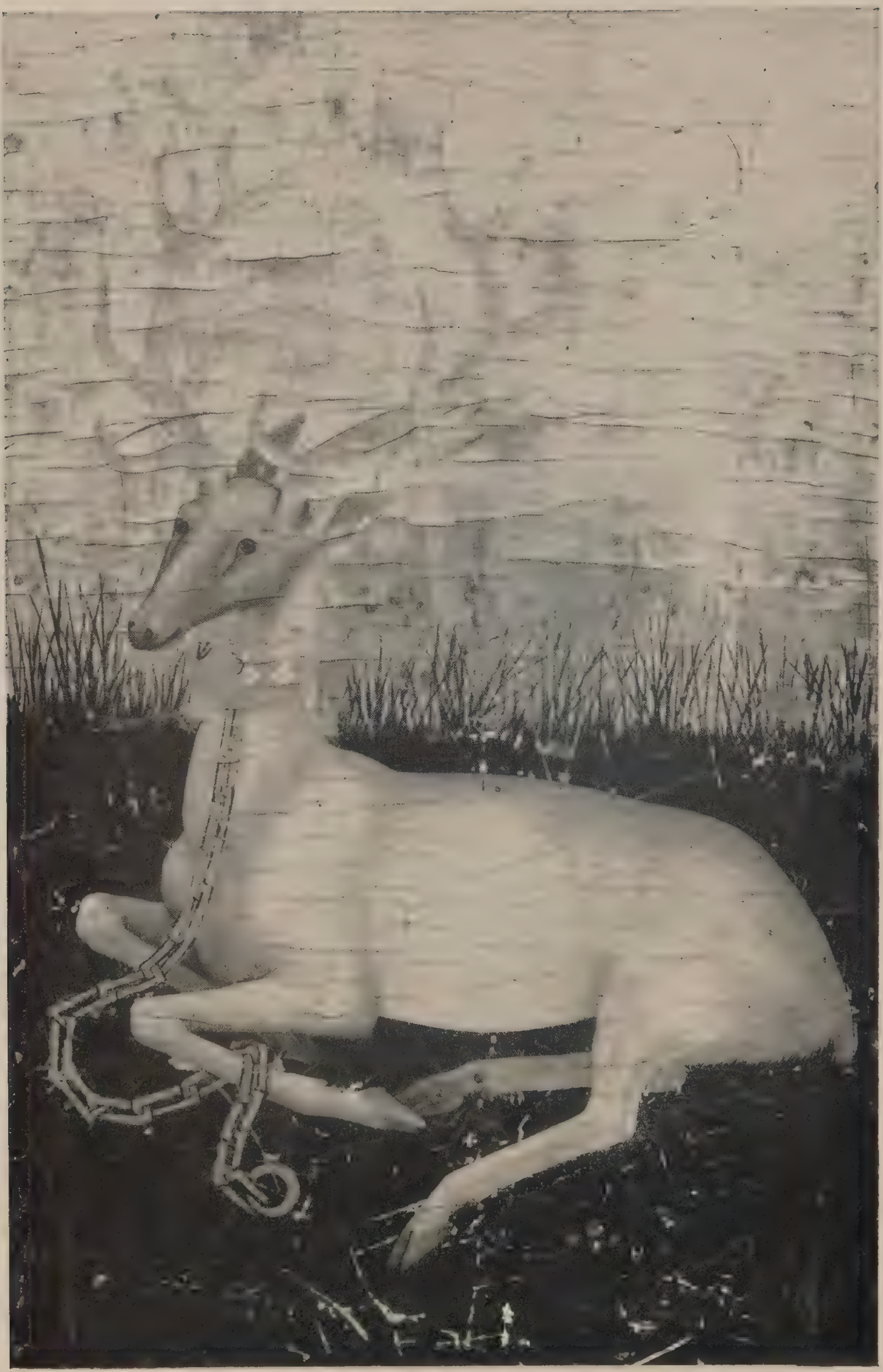
We render humble and devout thanksgiving to the Highest Observer of human minds, in Whose hand are not only the hearts but the bodies of kings and princes, Who has until now protected beneath favouring auspices by His powerful right hand our royal throne and person since the very cradle from the hands of all enemies, and especially those of household and intimacy, whose contrivances are notoriously more destructive than any plague. For noblemen and leaders of our household, whom we have respected, whom we have brought to the highest peak of honour, to whom we have opened a generous hand and whom we have treated with real affection, have for long and since we were of tender years traitrously conspired to disinherit our crown and usurp our royal power, raising themselves with many abettors of their iniquity to rebel against our royal will, publicly condemning our faithful servants to death and doing whatsoever they pleased at their own will. Thus have they striven damnably to spend their malice even upon our person, having wrongfully usurped the royal power by going about among our privy affairs, so that they left us hardly anything beyond the royal name. And though our royal clemency indulged these traitors with time enough to change their hearts and show the fruits of repentance, so deeply rooted in evil seemed their obstinacy that by the just judgment of God our avenging severity has been meted out to the destruction and ruin of their persons. Thus through the accompanying providence of God we have brought together the right hands of our power, bruising these confessed and convicted traitors and, threshing them out even to the husks, we have adjudged them to natural or civil death, so bringing to our subjects a peace which, by the grace of God, may last for ever. But since the heinousness of their crimes demanded a heavier penalty than could be exacted upon their persons, we have accordingly, for a perpetual reproach to them caused their punishment to be perpetuated upon their heirs, who must not climb to the pride of honours but be for ever shut off from reaching the height of any dignity or privilege, that posterity may learn what it is to offend the royal majesty, established at howsoever tender years; for he is a child of death, who offends the king. Wherefore, dear friend, we have so seriously unravelled this case, setting forth so much that Your Highness may take warning from the perils of another and provision for the future, and that the faces of those who contrive wickedness against King Christ the Lord may be hammered back into confusion and prevented from doing the like by the enormity of the punishment. Also that the quantity of our good fortune, which our present relation the more fully makes known to you, may provide you with matter of consolation and joy. And we desire that our Almighty God may long keep your person unharmed in prosperity.



a. The Wilton Diptych, left panel

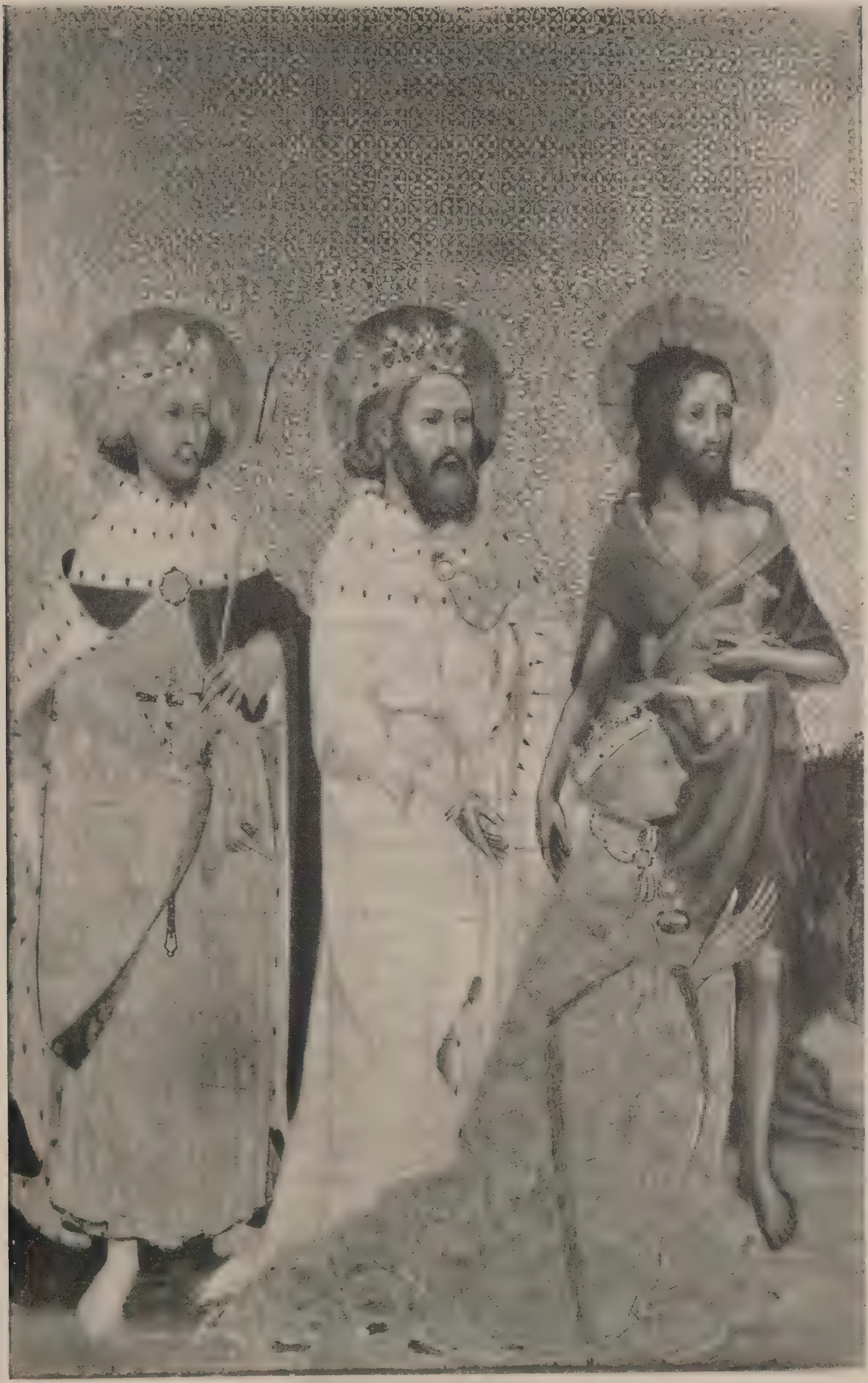
b. The Wilton Diptych, right panel

By permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery



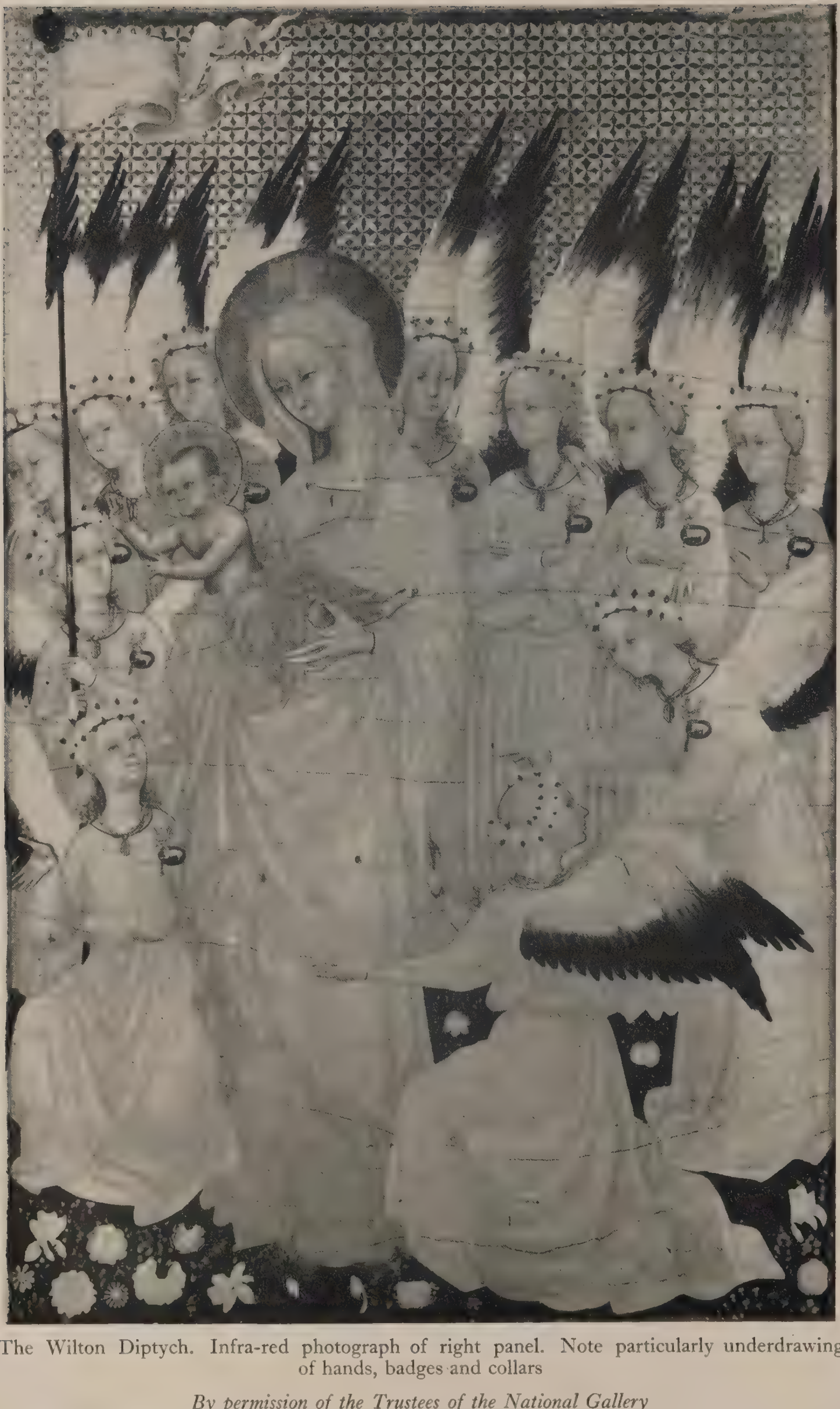
The Wilton Diptych, back of left panel

By permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery



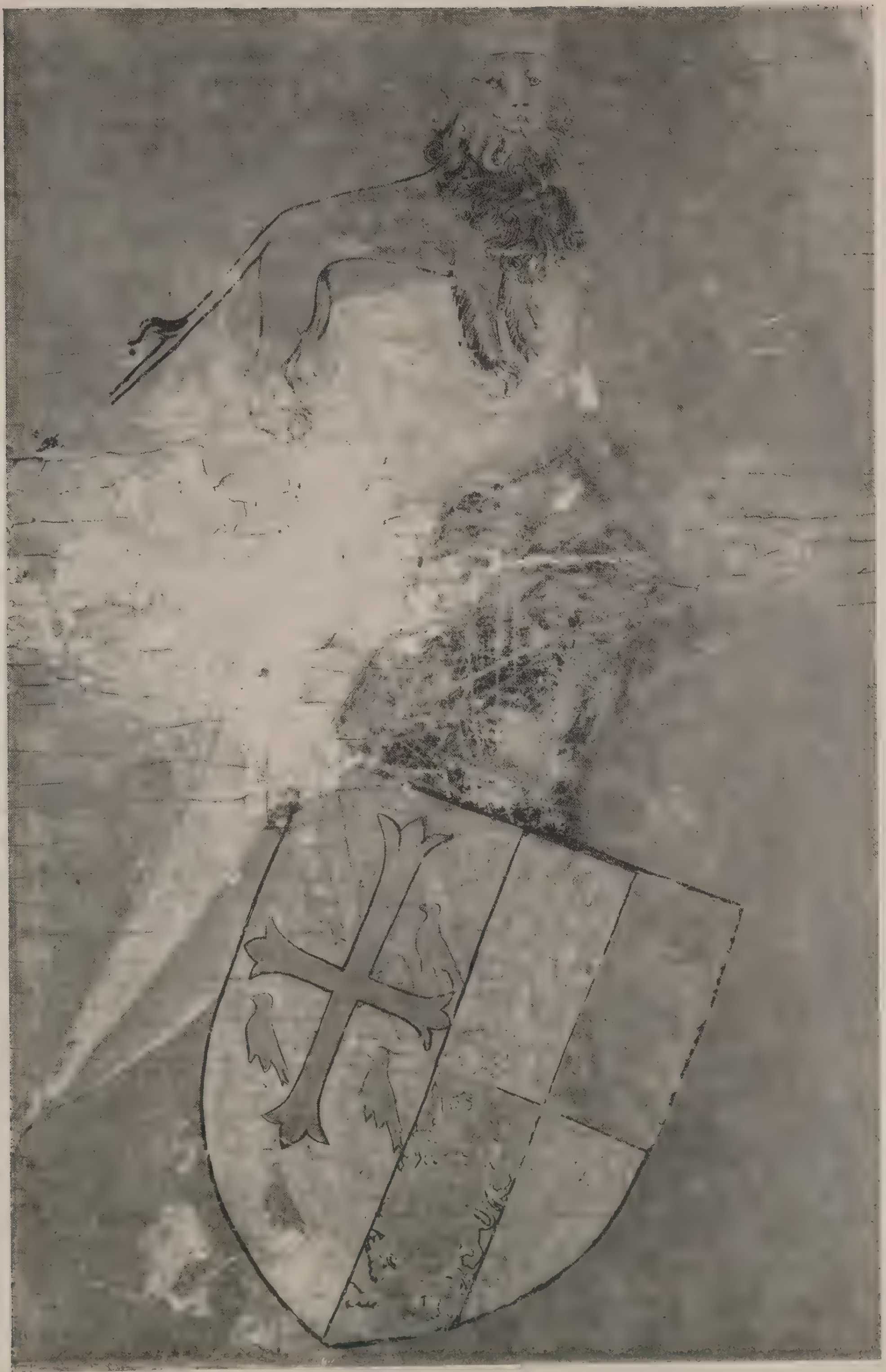
The Wilton Diptych. Infra-red photograph of left panel

By permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery



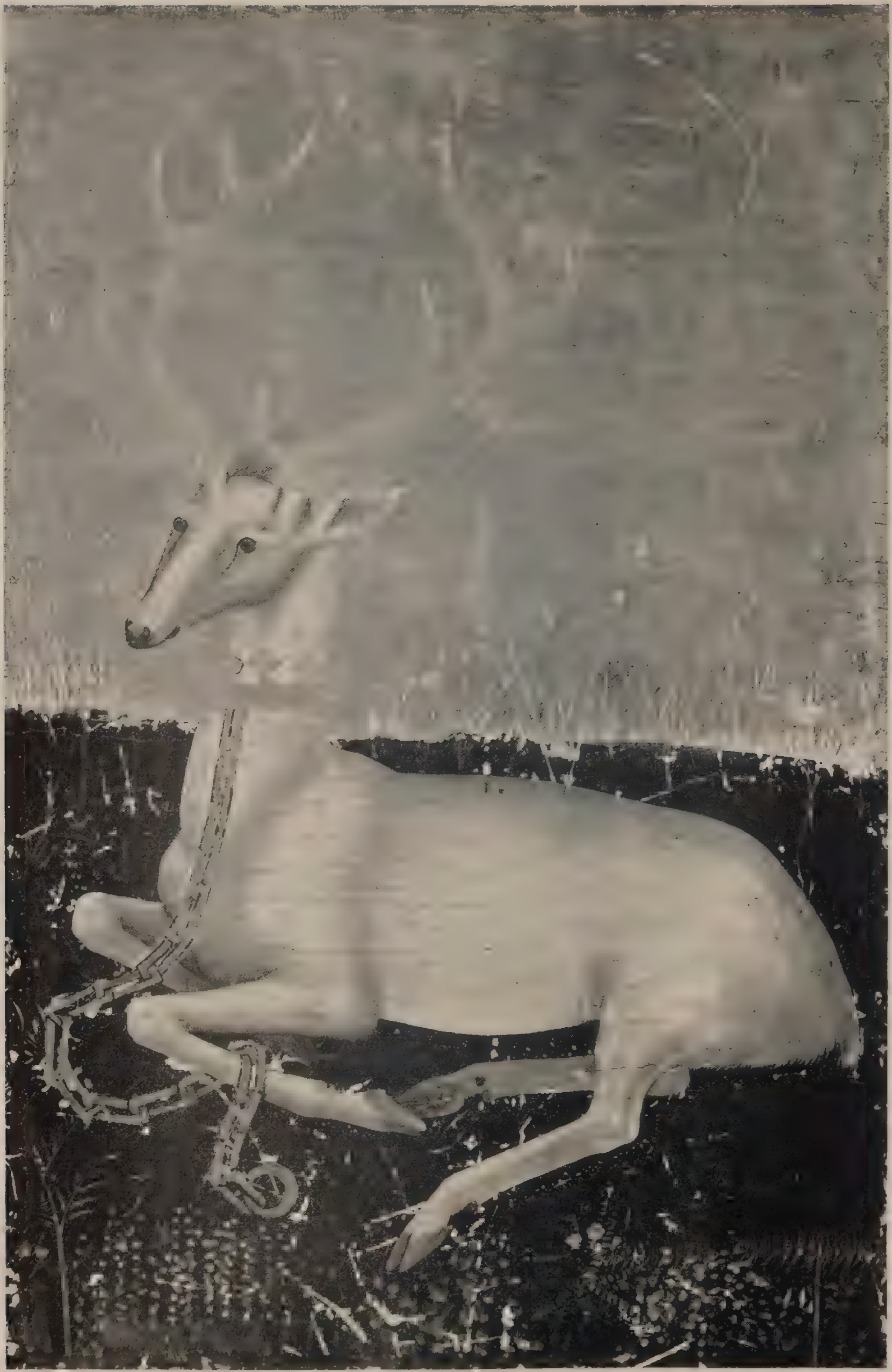
The Wilton Diptych. Infra-red photograph of right panel. Note particularly underdrawing of hands, badges and collars

By permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery



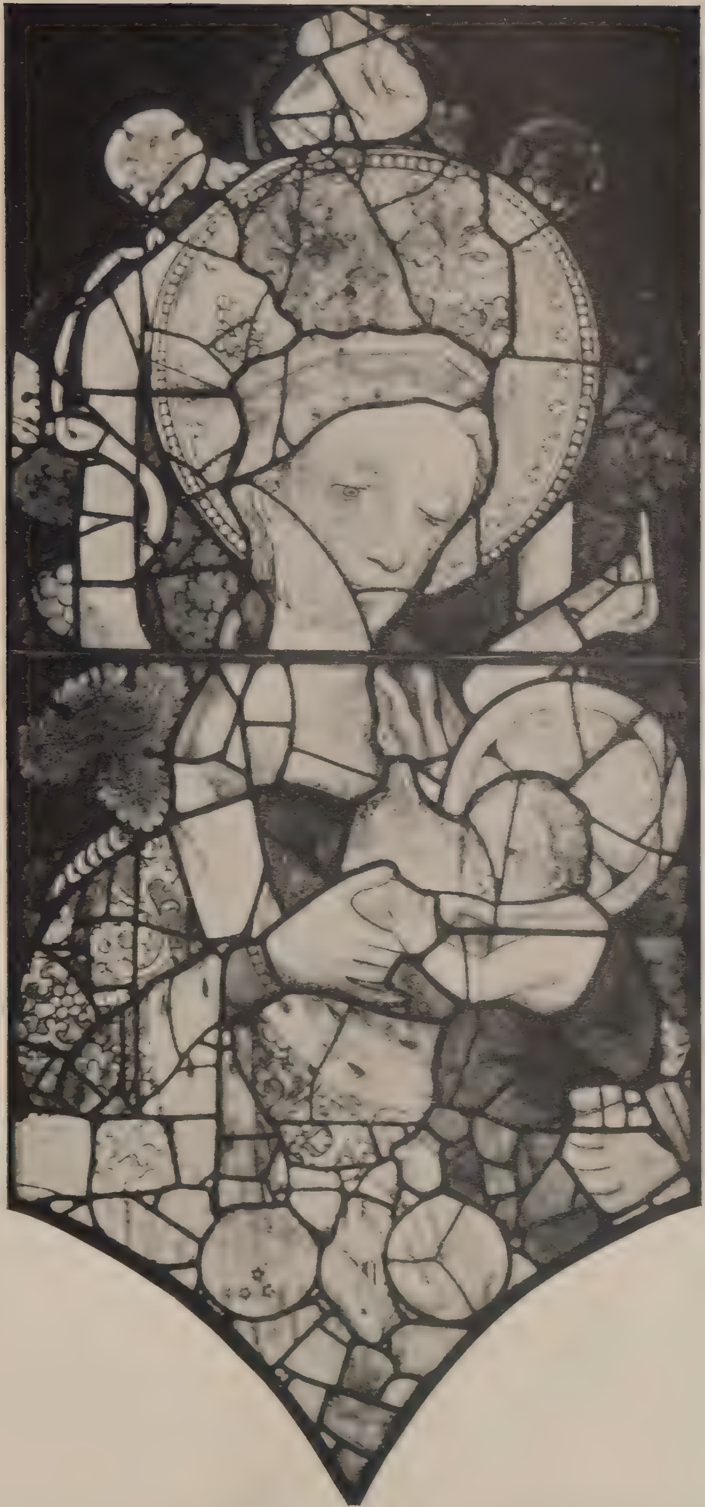
The Wilton Diptych. Infra-red photograph of back of right panel

By permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery



The Wilton Diptych. Infra-red photograph of back of left panel

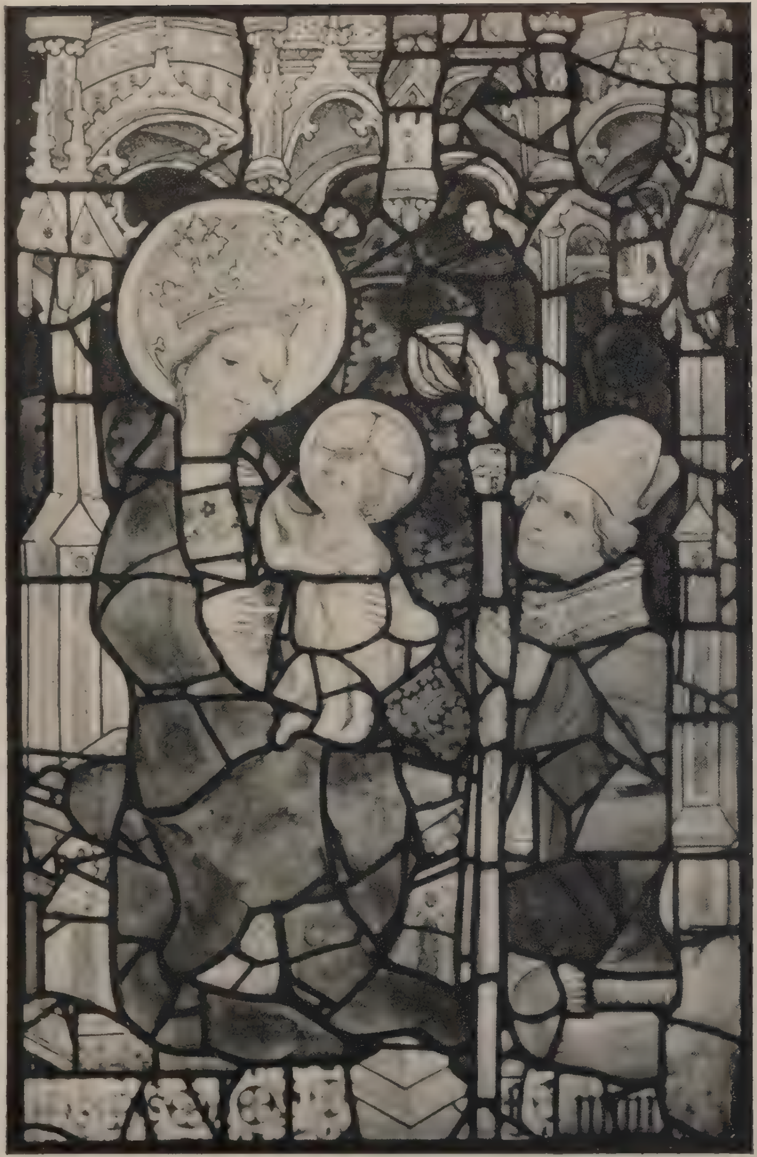
By permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery



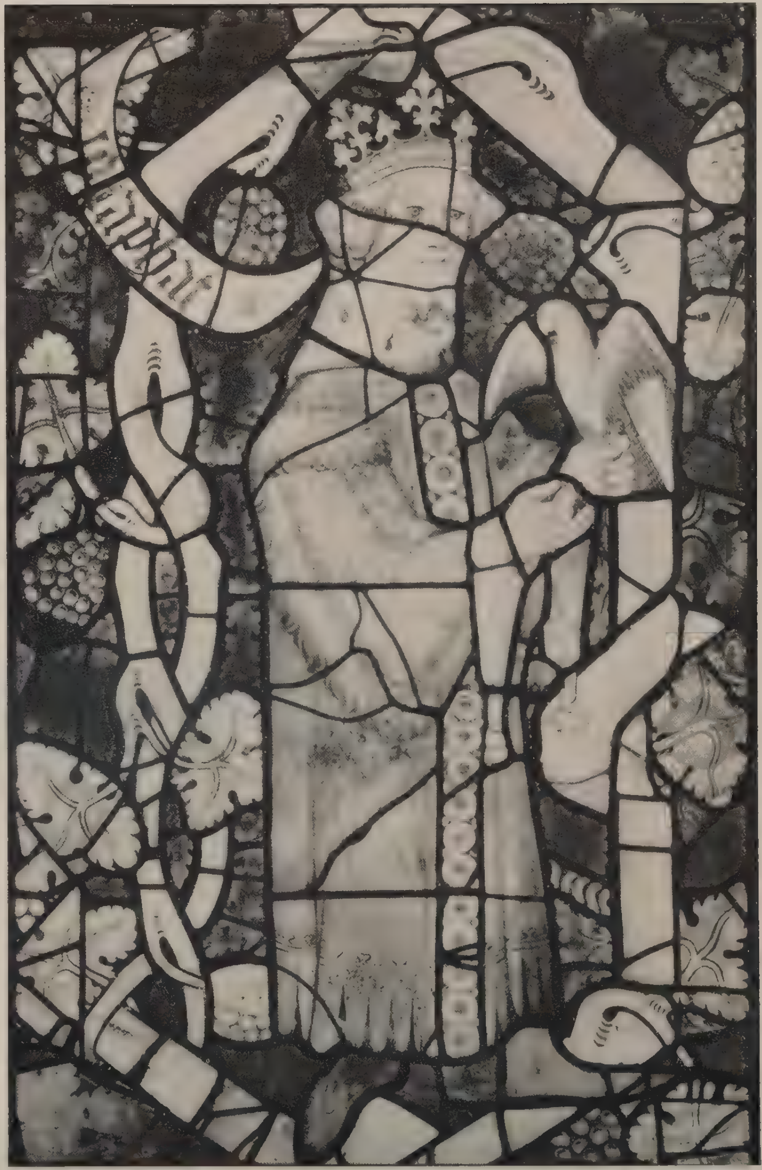
Winchester College. Surviving fragments from original glass of east window of Chapel, dated *c.* 1393

By permission of the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College

PLATE VIII

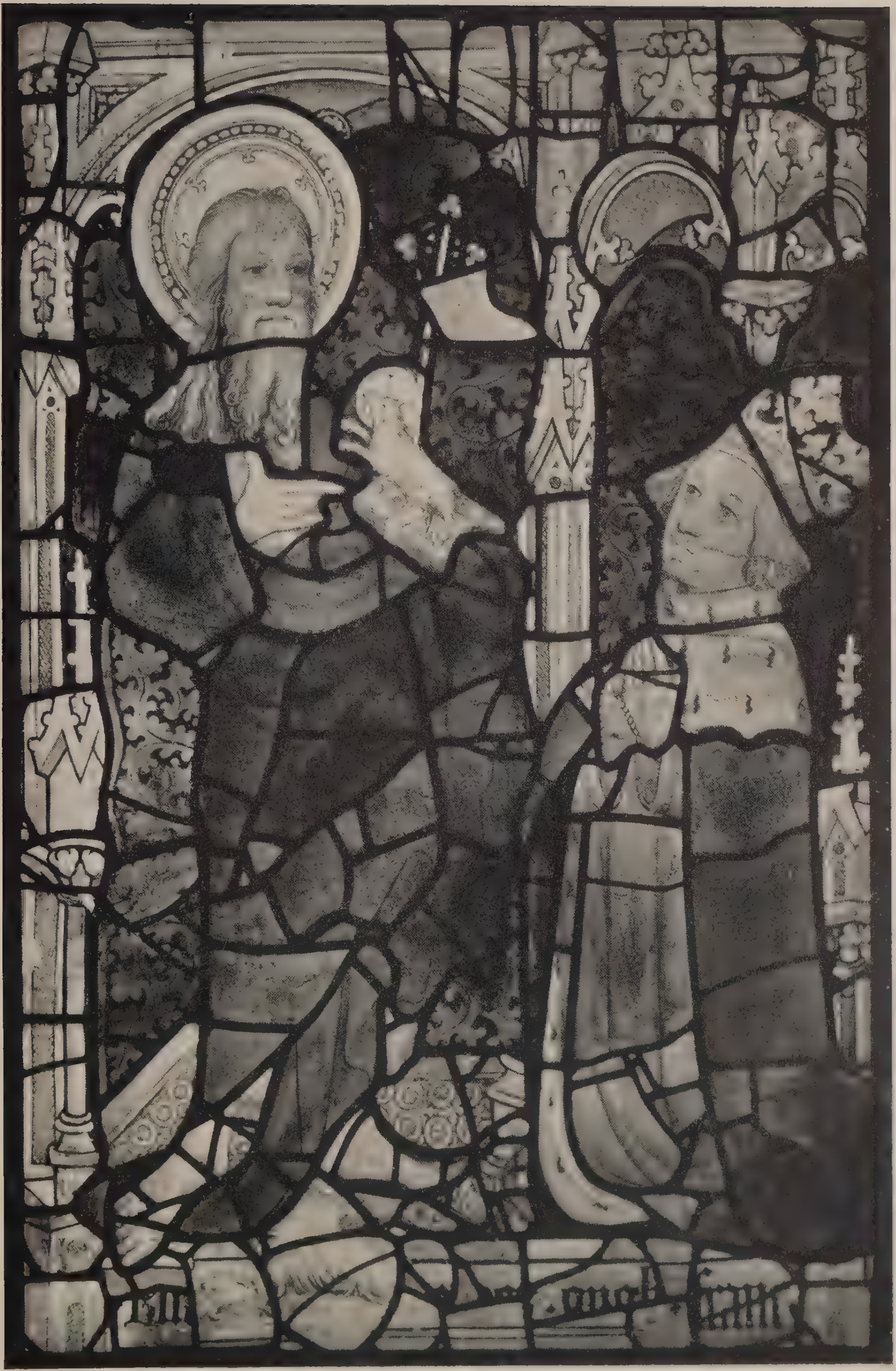


a. Winchester College, surviving panel from east window of Chapel, *c.* 1393. The head of the kneeling figure of William of Wykeham is a copy (1950) of an original head from the same window



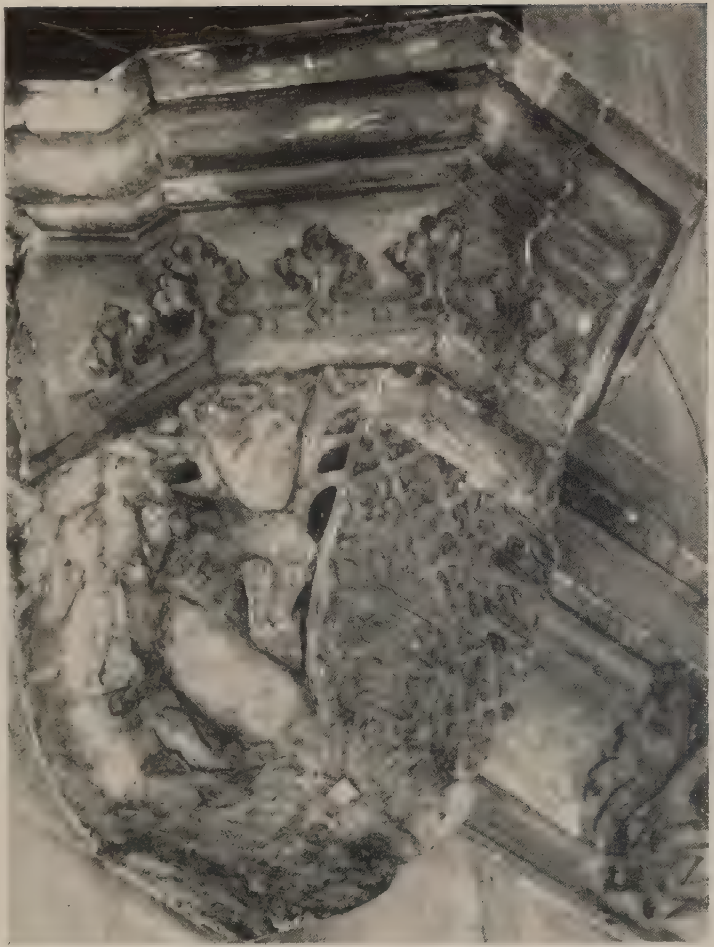
b. Winchester College, surviving panel of King 'Josaphat' from Jesse Tree in east window of Chapel, *c.* 1393

By permission of the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College

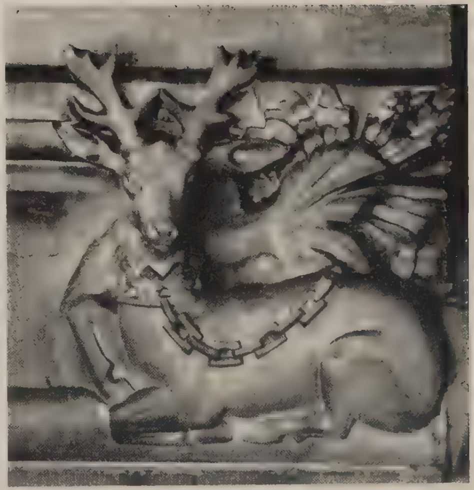


Winchester College, reassembled panel of St. John Baptist and King Richard II from east window of Chapel, *c.* 1393

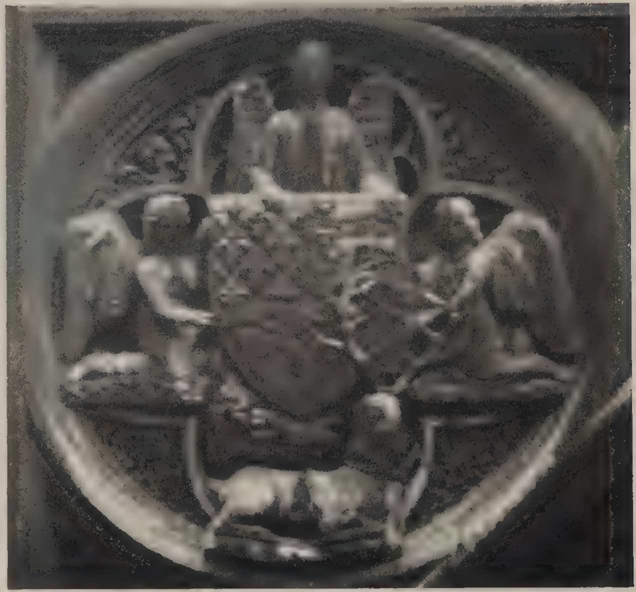
By permission of the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College



a. Westminster Hall, corbel of main truss. Work of 1395 to design of Henry Yevele, by the masons Richard Washbourne and John Swalwe, partly reworked in the nineteenth century

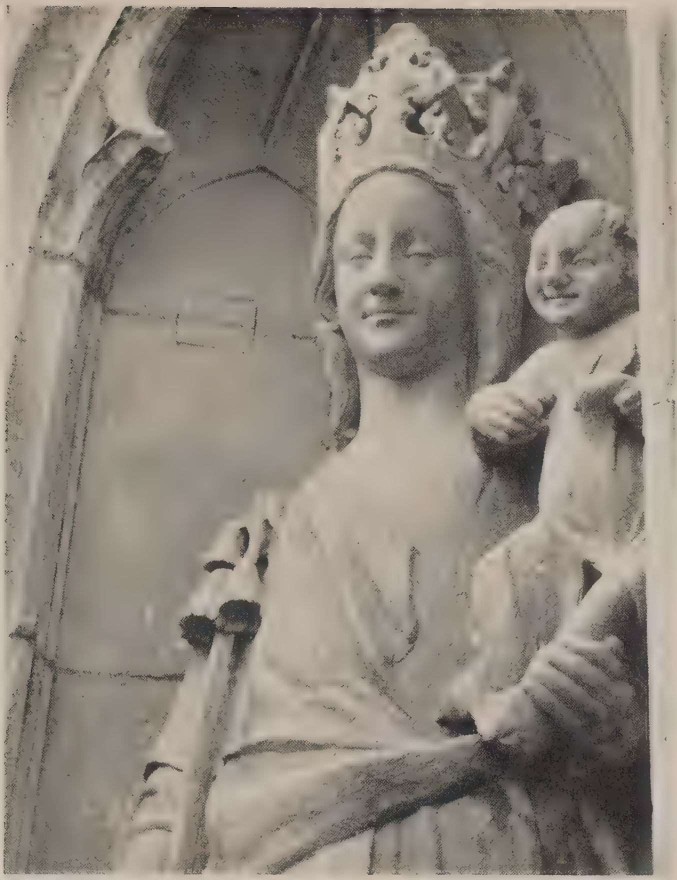


b.

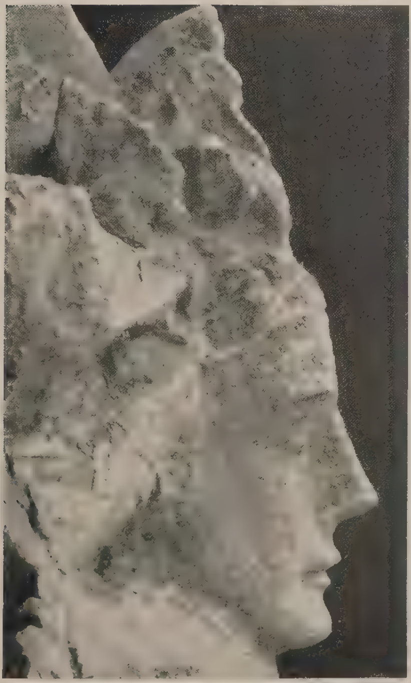


b, c. Chained hart from internal cornice, 1395; and spandrel of north porch, *c.* 1398, works to the design of Henry Yevele, but recut, *c.* 1819

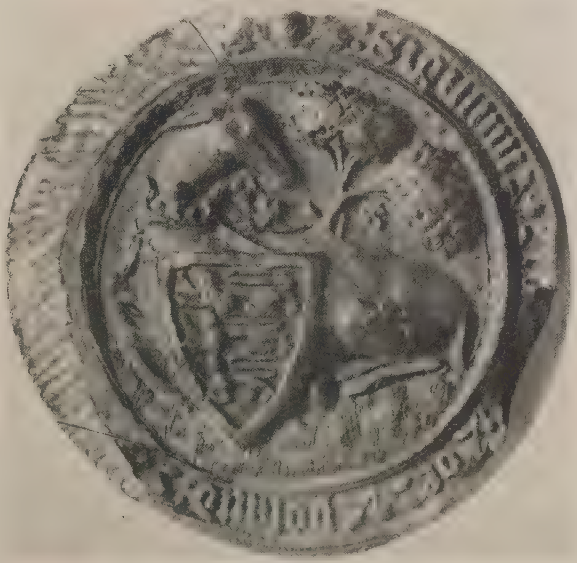
Photographs by the late R. P. Howgrave-Graham



a. Winchester College, statue above Outer Gate, *c*. 1395

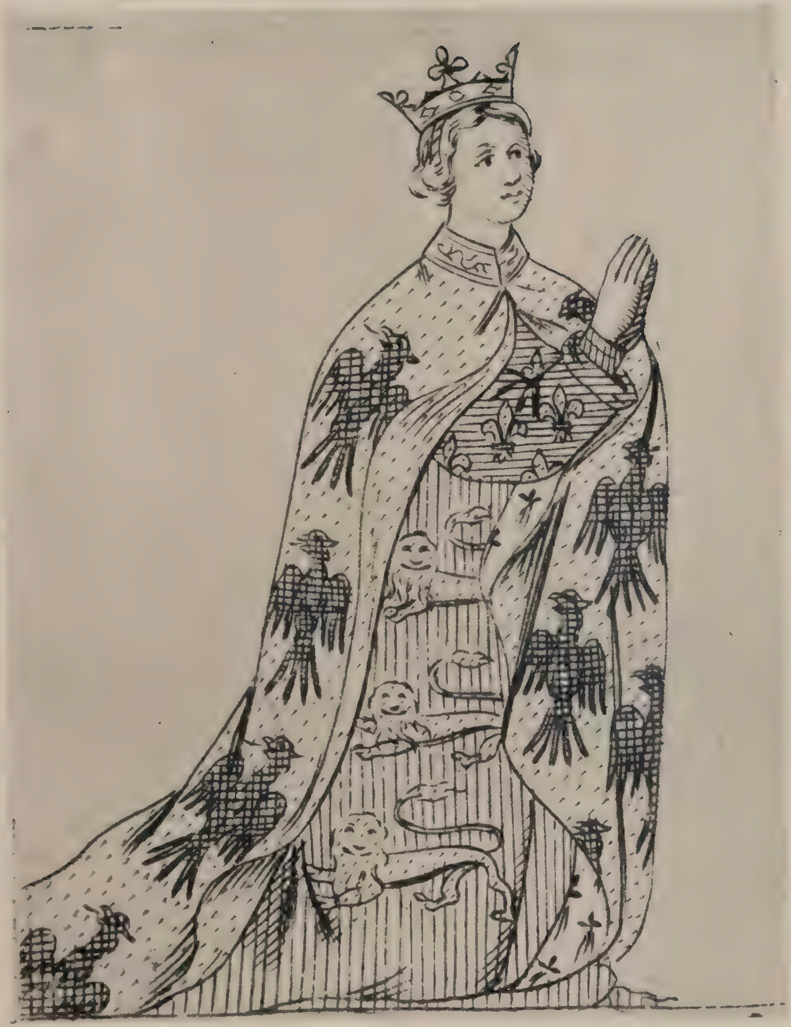


b. Winchester College, head of Richard II from label stop of east window of Chapel, *c*. 1394. From a plaster cast made in 1907

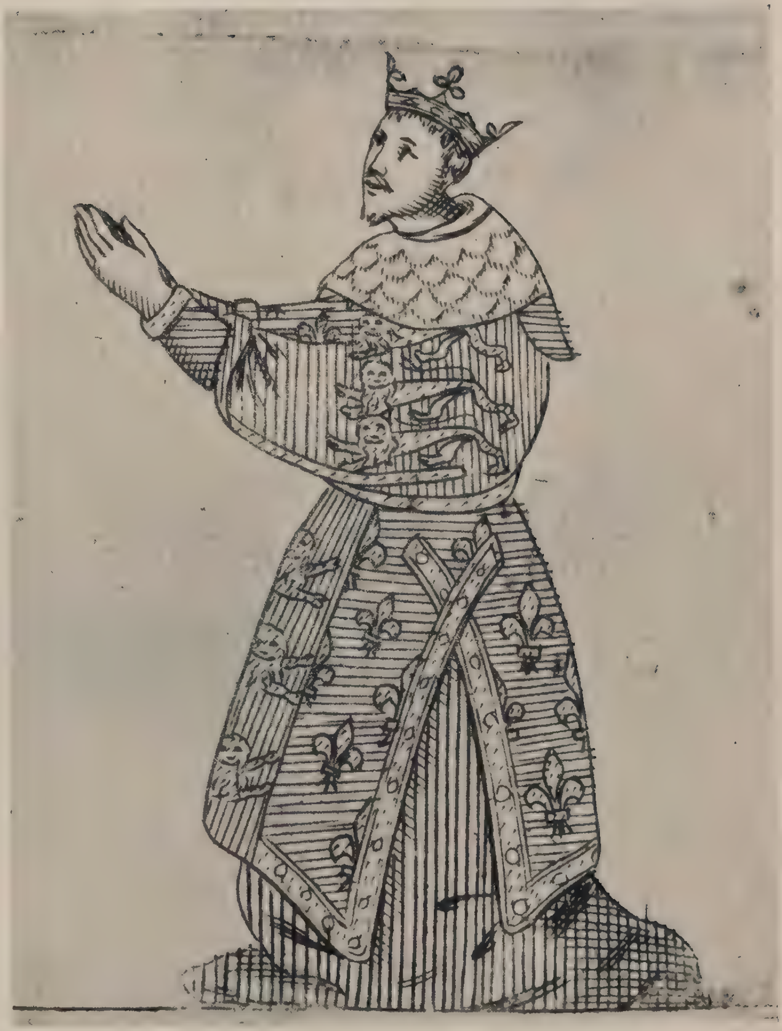


c. Seal of Thomas de Holand, Earl of Kent, from a composite photograph of two partial impressions made on 26 September 1382. (Winchester College Muniments, 9693, 9694)

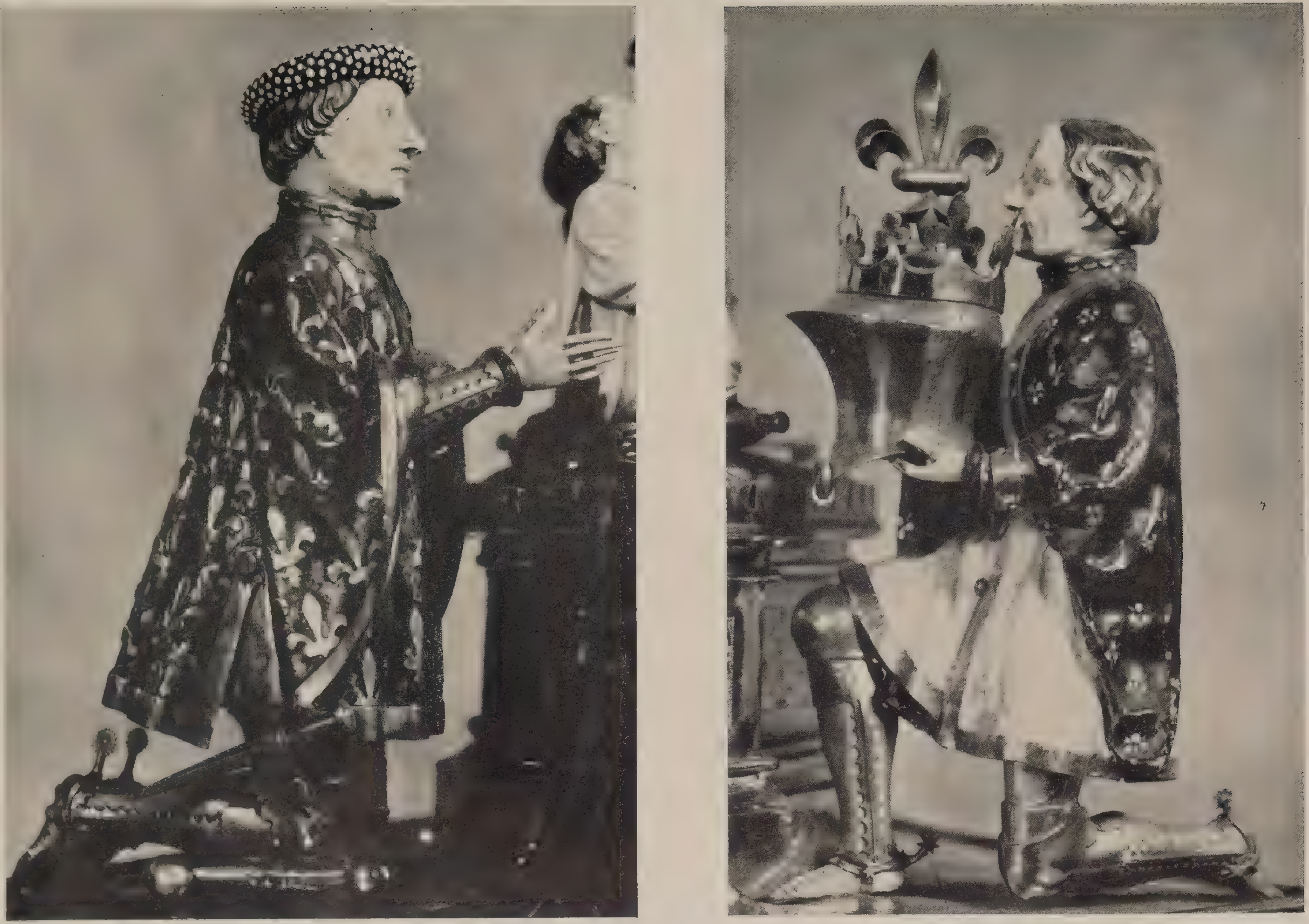
By permission of the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College



a. Polyptych formerly in the Venerable English College, Rome. Figure of Queen Anne of Bohemia. From S. Petra-Sancta: *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (1638)



b. Polyptych formerly in the Venerable English College, Rome. Figure of King Richard II. From S. Petra-Sancta: *Tesserae Gentilitiae* (1638)



Details of figures from *Das goldene Rösslin* at Altötting, Bavaria, made in Paris not later than 1403

Photographs by Bayerische Landesamt für Denkmalpflege

The Jutish Style A. A Study of Germanic Animal Art in Southern England in the Fifth Century A.D.*

By Sonia Chadwick Hawkes

INTRODUCTION

In 1915 Professor Baldwin Brown drew attention to a class of metalwork,[1] found in Anglo-Saxon graves in the south of England, and decorated with examples of a distinctive animal style, more naturalistic than Anglo-Saxon style I. This style he considered to be a direct descendant of late Roman art forms, although produced, not in the years immediately following the Anglo-Saxon settlement, but after a considerable time lapse, towards the middle of the sixth century. A similar view was expressed in 1923 by Reginald Smith.[2] Nils Åberg, writing in 1926,[3] was noncommittal about dates, but saw the inspiration for the style in a blend of late Roman and Eastern Mediterranean tradition. It was not until 1936, however, that a more detailed critical estimate of the objects was published, this time by E. T. Leeds in his *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*.[4] Leeds compared their decoration with that of examples of Gallo-Roman art in the late fourth and early fifth centuries and concluded that they came from the same style milieu. He wrote:

> All the pieces here noticed clearly belong to a cultural phase, presenting indeed many affinities to the Germanic style of the settlement period; but, in reality, they represent a continental style antecedent to that development in southern England. . . . There is every reason to believe that they are objects ante-dating the invasion, and, if it is desired to know what native women were wearing before or at the time of Hengist's landing, this group supplies the information.

Sir Thomas Kendrick, in 1938,[5] agreed with Leeds in attributing the style to British workshops, but placed its evolution in the late fifth and early sixth centuries.

In the last twenty years, no serious reconsideration of the style has been undertaken, and on the whole it is the view of Leeds which has held the field. Recently, however, Miss Vera Evison has published a corpus of 'Early Anglo-Saxon Inlaid Metalwork',[6] with results of primary importance to the subject. In it for the first time attention is drawn to the fact that several of the pieces bearing the animal style in question are also decorated with silver sheet inlay; an important feature which Leeds in his preoccupation with pure style apparently failed to notice. Miss Evison has contented herself with merely hinting at the possible implications of this new observation,[7] and, in view of this, and because even the most important pieces in the group have never been considered in detail, it seemed that a re-examination of the entire subject would not come amiss.

As a result of the notice drawn to them by the above scholars, most of the pieces

---

* This paper was published with the aid of a grant from the Council for British Archaeology.

[1] Brown (1915), iv, 562–5.

[2] Smith (1923), pp. 42, 54–55.

[3] Åberg (1926), pp. 161–3.

[4] Leeds (1936), pp. 4–7.

[5] Kendrick (1938), pp. 81–83.

[6] Evison (1955), pp. 20 ff.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 28.

under discussion are already well known. A few new objects have been added to Leeds's original list, among which the most important are several items from Miss Evison's corpus which, although without the distinctive animal style, are ornamented with silver sheet inlay. These are clearly closely related to the main group and for convenience' sake are now included in it.

Choice of terminology in this period is always a difficult problem. In the past, this animal style has enjoyed a variety of vague and unsatisfactory titles: the *Romanizing* style;[1] the *Gallo-Roman* style;[2] the *Late Roman* style;[3] and the *Naturalistic* style.[4] Since it will be argued here that the style in question was evolved after the Germanic settlement of the south of England, was the work of Germanic craftsmen, and is not entirely naturalistic in its portrayal of animal forms, none of the existing titles is suitable for the present purpose. The style will therefore be renamed from the outset *the Jutish Style A*. Detailed reasons for this choice will appear later, but a primary consideration has been the nomenclature already coined for the period. Salin's division of Germanic animal ornament into Style I and II[5] has proved inadequate to define the complexities of the developments in Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic art during the pagan period, and the need for more precise terminology was clearly seen by Kendrick and partially filled by his *Ribbon* and *Helmet* styles.[6] Unfortunately much of this nomenclature will of necessity go into the melting-pot when more detailed research is undertaken into the nuances of the early Anglo-Saxon animal styles. What is more likely to stand the test of time, however, is Leeds's classic division of the Kentish cemetery material into three main phases: Jutish, Frankish, and Kentish.[7] It is his *Jutish Phase*, *c.* 450–500 or perhaps a little later, which concerns us here. The form, the *Jutish Style A*, has the merit of falling in line with this rough division, as well as stressing the point to be argued below—that is, the southern English character of the style.

THE JUTISH STYLE A—CORPUS OF MATERIAL

Silver objects in chasing technique

1. *Sarre, Thanet, N.E. Kent.*[8] British Museum, Reg. No. 1893, 6–1, 219.32 (pl. XIV, fig. 8, 7–8).

Quoit brooch: diam. 7·6 cm., cut from sheet silver 1·1 mm. thick, and hammered to a shallow convex form. The metal is sufficiently thin for the chased ornament, and particularly the concentric circles, to register faintly in reverse on the back of the brooch. The low vertical rim has been raised by paning and the milled edge rendered by square cuts finished by the file. The ornament of the flat surface of the brooch is based on a series of concentric circles designed to enclose two main decorated zones. The outer zone is bordered on both sides by narrow bands of chased lines with cross-tooling between. The plain silver field between this zone and the next has lightly engraved lines at its edges, and on either side of the inner zone is a single chased line overlaid with oval impressions.

Both decorated zones contain animal friezes, gilded to contrast with the silver field. In the outer frieze are animals confronted in pairs, in couchant position, with down-curled, frond-like, forefeet. The heads are square-jawed, with teeth marked by impressed ovals, and have round eyes and long, pointed, laid-back ears. They have a double contour, giving a 'frame' effect, and the inner panel is divided into three compartments representing shoulder, belly, and hind-quarters, each of which is filled by a 'fur' pattern of ovals, arranged in lines whose direction varies in each compartment. On some of the animals the neck section has a plain central panel. The tails are upcurled over the back, ending in a coil behind the neck. In the inner zone of ornament the animals are also arranged in pairs, except where, partially obscured by one of the doves, there is an odd one without a partner. These animals are less angular and have back-turned heads with pointed snouts, teeth, rounded ears, and scut-like tails. The forefeet are tucked up under the chest; the hindfeet are frond-like in treatment. The bodies are 'framed', and have only two compartments with contrasted 'fur' pattern.

---

[1] Brown (1915), iv, 562–5.

[2] Leeds (1949), pp. 110–11.

[3] Hawkes (1956), p. 103.

[4] Åberg (1926), pp. 161–3.

[5] Salin (1904).

[6] Kendrick (1934).

[7] Leeds (1936), pp. 43 ff.

[8] Leeds (1936), p. 4, pl. II, *e*; Smith (1923), p. 54, fig. 59; Åberg (1926), p. 163, fig. 302; Brown (1915), iii, pl. XLIX, 1; *V.C.H. Kent*, i, 361, fig. 12.

On the inside edge of the quoit brooch three long openwork strips divide off a narrow ring to which has been riveted a moulded collar. The broad back of the pin folds over this collar and is given play by one of the openwork bands. In use, this pin was pushed through the cloth and its point was brought to the front of the brooch through a V-shaped slit cut into the inner ring. At the edges of the slit the moulded collar terminates in two cast knobs, riveted into place, and against these the pin point was secured. The back of the pin is decorated by a cast, free-standing dove, held in place by the rivet that anchors the folded end of the pin. The head of the dove is stylized, the neck ringed, the wings demarcated, and the feathers represented by crescentic stamped ornament. The tail feathers are indicated by panels containing impressed ovals, and the triangle between the wings carries stamped pellet-within-triangle decoration. Two larger doves are riveted to the brooch itself on either side of the pin slit. One now swivels but it is probable that both were originally fixed, beak to beak. They are similar to the bird described but there are a few slight differences in decoration.

2. *Howletts, N.E. Kent*, grave 13.[1] British Museum, Reg. No. 1935. 10–29. 11 (pl. xv, *b*, fig. 8, 5–6).

Fragmentary *quoit brooch*: original diam. 6·8 cm., cut from sheet silver 1 mm. thick; slightly convex; rim raised by paning; the milling, which is finer than that on the Sarre brooch, effected by V-shaped cuts rounded by the file. As on the Sarre brooch the two main zones of decoration are gilded, the rest is left silver. The concentric rings and bands are very similar to those on the Sarre brooch, with the exception that the inner edge of the brooch carries a narrow band containing a linear zigzag motive, whose rounded angles on the inner side enclose tiny reserved pellets.

The outer zone can be reconstructed as a continuous frieze of running, dog-like animals confronted in pairs against human masks. The masks are shield-shaped with schematic round eyes and wedge-shaped noses, a single line representing the mouth. The features are enclosed in a groove filled with stamped ovals. The animals have a 'frame' and three compartments with contrasted 'fur' pattern of short lines; the shoulder of each is indicated by a plain narrow panel. Each head has squared jaws with mouth slightly open, round eye and laid-back ears. The fore-paws are frond-like and a similar treatment has been given to the end of the curled tails. The tails and hindlegs of the pairs of animals touch. In the space between their heels are two round pellets, while above their backs, and below jaws and bellies, is a fill-up of vertical lines. The inner ring of decoration consists of confronted pairs of back-turned creatures whose curiously attenuated and elongated bodies give the effect of joining into a long ribbon with the adjacent animal of the next pair. These bodies are decorated with transverse chased lines. The head is of the horse type, with punched dot eyes, pricked ears, and long nose. The forefeet have disappeared and the hindfeet are stylized.

The arrangements for the pin, that is, pin-slit, moulded collar, and stop-knobs, are similar to those on the Sarre brooch, except that the openwork sections are shorter and the collar is better made. Only one dove survives, riveted in free-standing position with its beak above the end of the pin-slit. It is smaller and less flattened than the Sarre doves, and wings and tail feathers are indicated simply by linear decoration. The similarity between this and the Sarre brooch is such that it is safe to postulate a second dove to match the existing one on the plate, and perhaps another on the now missing pin.

---

[1] Leeds (1936), p. 4, pl. III, *a*; *British Museum Quarterly*, x, 132.

Associations. The brooch was in contact with a mass of rusted iron, and in the same grave was a *pottery bottle* in red ware, with four bands of irregular scratched zigzag decoration on the shoulder.[1]

Silver objects in carving technique

3. *Howletts, N.E. Kent.*[2] British Museum, Reg. No. 1918. 7–8.35 (pl. xv, fig. 8, 3–4).

Quoit brooch: diam. 6·4 cm.; cut from sheet silver 1·7 mm. thick; slightly convex; rim, milling, and gilding as on the Sarre brooch. The decoration is again based on concentric circles and concentrated in two zones with a plain silver field between. Both zones are framed by narrow bands consisting of incised parallel lines with hatching between.

The outer zone is divided by narrow reserved bars into eighteen compartments, alternately wide and narrow, and containing an anti-clockwise procession of animals interspaced with full-face human masks. The masks are simple roundels with a double contour enclosing incised hatching, and the features are rendered simply as two round eyes and a wedge-shaped nose, or sometimes as eyes alone. The animals are stylized hippocamps with back-turned heads, pricked ears, and outcurved jaws, whose curled-up tails seem to be a compromise between an amphibian's tail and the hind-quarters of a quadruped. The bodies have a hatched 'frame', the inner panel is decorated with punched dots and occasionally there is a ring-and-dot stamp on the hip. The shoulder is usually demarcated by a leaf-shaped panel, but no two animals are alike in their surface ornament.

The inner zone of ornament is divided into two sections by the arrangements for the pin. On this brooch there is no separate ring and collar but instead the pin hinges through a rectangular opening opposite the V-shaped pin-slit. As on the other quoit brooches, cast free-standing knobs, riveted on, act as pin stops. The two decorated panels lie on either side of the pin, which is now missing,[3] and each contains a pair of sinuous quadrupeds, confronted, and gripping a pellet between their open jaws. They have large ring-and-dot eyes, pointed ears, and bushy upcurled tails. The bodies are 'framed' and divided into three sections, the shoulder and belly area being filled with punched dots, the hip marked by a stamped ring and dot, and the 'frame' hatched by incised lines. The feet are not clearly defined.

The two rivet-holes beside the pin-slit suggest that this brooch may also have had cast doves attached to the plate. In workmanship and technique, it is far cruder than the chased quoit brooches.

4. *Bifrons, N.E. Kent.*[4] Maidstone Museum; Tomlinson Coll. (pl. xv, *c*, fig. 8, 2).

Pair of pendants: 3 and 3·25 cm. long respectively, made from very thin beaten silver. The loops, which are of different lengths, are folded over at the back and taper to a rounded end. At the base of each loop at the front are two small lobes ornamented with incised rings. The main part of each pendant is pear-shaped and in the centre an oval collar has been raised by hammering to contain a piece of blue glass set *en cabochon*. The glass is now missing from one of the pendants. At the base of the collar on each is a ring of semicircular punch-marks, and outside this, on the flat flange, a panel of animal ornament, consisting of a short procession of little creatures three on each side of the collar, facing up towards the loop. They are separated from each other, and from the edge of the pendants, by narrow borders decorated with incised hatching.

---

[1] The cemetery is not published and the grave associations are taken from a brief manuscript inventory compiled by the excavator Captain Relph, and now in the British Museum.

[2] Leeds (1936), p. 4, pl. II, *a*; Smith (1923), fig. 58; Åberg (1926), p. 163; Kendrick (1938), p. 83, pl. XXXIII.

[3] When Kendrick published this brooch it was shown with a plain pin, now missing.

[4] Leeds (1936), p. 7; Brown (1915), iv, pl. CII, 1.

The remaining spaces below the loop and above the collar on each pendant are filled with punched dots. The little animals are again a cross between hippocamp and quadruped, having square jaws, round eyes, couched front feet, and curled hind-quarters. Eight of the animals have a triangular panel on their bodies which is filled with incised strokes, and some have additional punched dots on the tail. The others have only a line of dots along the body.

Bronze objects inlaid with sheet silver

5. *Faversham, N. Kent.*[1] British Museum, Reg. No. 1060.7 (fig. 1).

Disc brooch: diam. 5·75 cm., cut from sheet bronze 0·75 mm. thick. The brooch is in bad condition, the edge being abraded and broken in places. Most damage has been sustained where the pin catch was riveted to the back. This catch is in the form of a flat loop, fixed by two rivets close to the edge of the brooch which seems to have become weakened so that a section of it subsequently broke off and was replaced by a plain strip of bronze, held in place by a reinforcing patch riveted across the catch plate. The plain bronze pin hinged on a curved bar, riveted at either end.

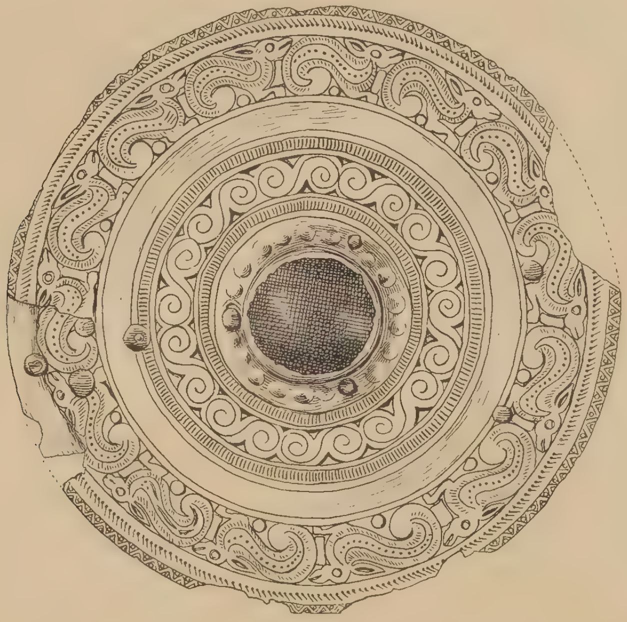


FIG. 1. No. 5. Disc Brooch, Faversham, Kent ($\frac{3}{2}$).

The basic design of the brooch is again one of concentric engraved circles enclosing two zones of carved decoration. The extreme outside edge carries a narrow band of pellet-within-triangle decoration, giving a zigzag effect. The outer zone of decoration is bordered on its outer edge by an engraved line overlaid with tangented dots. The inner zone is bordered on both sides by parallel incised lines with hatching between, and the plain field between the two ornamental zones has engraved lines at its edges. In the outer zone of decoration is a clockwise procession of couchant hare-like creatures, set nose to tail. They have large round eyes, laid-back ears, and elongated muzzles; the forepaws are extended but the hind-quarters curl under as with the creatures on nos. 4 and 5. The pellet beneath the belly may be a stylized survival of the hind foot. The animals are carved in shallow relief and the bodies have a hatched 'frame' around an inner panel containing a line of punched dots. On several of the animals this inner panel still bears the remains of sheet silver which had evidently been keyed into the incised outline of the 'frame' and additionally secured by punched dots. The condition of the brooch makes it uncertain whether the silver originally covered the whole animal, but on the analogy of the Bifrons strap-end (no. 7) and the High Down buckle loop (no. 10), where the entire panel of decoration is enriched with silver, it is likely that at least the whole animal, and probably the entire zone, was silver covered. In this case the hatched frame may have been a form of keying. The second zone of ornament consists of a continuous band of single scrolls, arranged to give the effect of running S-shaped spirals.

---

[1] Smith (1923), p. 42, fig. 38; Leeds (1936), pp. 4–5; Åberg (1926), fig. 301.

The centre of the brooch is occupied by a piece of blue glass set *en cabochon* in a silver collar, the flange of which carries repoussé dots. Three of these are represented by the rivets that secure the whole boss to the brooch. In its workmanship the collar is crude by comparison with the rest of the brooch, but the lack of secondary rivet-holes suggests that it must be an original feature and not a replacement. In its present state the brooch is dominated by its showy boss to an entirely disproportionate extent, considering that the animal ornament was clearly intended to be the principal source of decoration, and that, consequently, a great deal of skilled work has gone into its execution. The relief is so shallow that it is ineffective in its present state. This is strong confirmation that the whole animal zone was originally a zone of silver, and there is reason for thinking that the scroll panel was also finished in this way, for the incised lines that border it inside the hatching are enlarged as if for the reception of the edge of silver sheet. It is suggested here, therefore, that besides its silver boss the Faversham disc brooch, as originally designed, had two silver zones with a plain bronze field between and a narrow decorated bronze edge.

6. *Higham, N. Kent.*[1] Rochester Eastgate Museum (pl. XVI, *a*).

Disc brooch: diam. approximately 5·5 cm., cut from sheet bronze 0·75 mm. thick. This brooch is in even worse condition than the last, and has deteriorated since 1915, when it was photographed by Baldwin Brown. At that time part of the edge was intact as well as more of the central collar. Unfortunately, the photograph in *The Arts in Early England*, IV, pl. LXI, 3, is not good enough to show the precise nature of either of these two features, and the original negative has not survived.[2] In default of this the brooch must be studied in its present fragmentary state. The pin is missing and the catch-plate almost destroyed, while the central boss and the silver inlay are so mutilated that it seems possible that they were deliberately torn off the brooch before burial.

The design, as on the other circular brooches, is based on concentric circles. The principal decorated zone is near the edge of the brooch, and consists of an unbroken frieze of twenty-five irregular roundels in shallow relief. Each has a deeply incised inner ring which, in several cases, still bears traces of silver sheet inlay.[3] Baldwin Brown was of the opinion that the roundels represented flatly treated full-faced heads, and, on close inspection, under strong edge lighting, the impression of two staring eyes and a wedge-shaped nose can just be made out on one or two of them, though now barely discernible on the pitted surface of the bronze. These features must originally have been impressed on the sheet silver that covered the roundels, and the surviving traces make it clear that the masks were similar to those on the Howletts (no. 3) quoit brooch.

On the inner side of the zone of masks are traces of parallel lines with punch marks between, and then follows a broad area occupied only by a single line of alternately arranged, pellet-within-triangle, stamps. This design again barely registers and is not visible in the photograph. The central roundel is bordered by deeply cut concentric rings with heavy cross-tooling between. The inmost of them is gouged out as if to hold silver inlay. Within the roundel are the projecting heads of four bronze rivets, around two of which there survives a broken and corroded fragment of bronze ornamented with punched dots. Baldwin Brown's photograph shows that this bronze addition is the remains of a collar designed to hold a circular stone or piece of glass. A worn patch in the centre of the disc brooch would exactly correspond with such a setting. The similarity between this and the central feature of the Faversham brooch is unmistakable, and it may have been even closer at one time, for it is possible that the boss itself was covered with silver. Once again, as on the Faversham brooch, the faintness of the surface decoration on the disc is such that it cannot originally have been like this, and it is therefore obvious that all that remains is the light impress left on the bronze when the design was stamped on to a now vanished covering of sheet silver. The silver was probably continuous from the outer edge of the zone of masks to the edge of the boss. This would leave the boss as undecorative bronze, and in view of this it is likely that it was originally overlaid with sheet silver which was keyed by the punched dots on the flange.

---

[1] Brown (1915), iii, pl. LXI, 3; Evison (1955), p. 26, no. 42.

[2] I am most grateful to Professor Talbot-Rice and the Department of Fine Art at Edinburgh University for undertaking a search, unfortunately unsuccessful, for this negative.

[3] Miss Evison refers to this mistakenly as an example of wire inlay on bronze. She cites only one other example of this kind, the plate from grave 28 in the Howletts cemetery: see her plate VII, *f*. On this, however, the rounded section of the wires is quite distinct and easily distinguishable from the ragged rim of silver which is all that remains of the sheet inlay of the Higham brooch.

7. *Bifrons, N.E. Kent.*[1] Maidstone Museum; Tomlinson Coll. (pl. XVI, *b*).

Strap-end: length 4 cm. It consists of two plates, of which that at the back is thinner, square at one end, and tapering to a rounded tip at the other. The plates are held together by two rivets at the square end, and a dab of some form of adhesive at the other. The back-plate is scored with longitudinal engraved lines. The front of the strap-end has a rectangular panel 2 cm. long at the square end, demarcated by a frame of engraved lines and punched dots, and containing a single couchant animal in shallow relief. Except where it has been worn off the head of the animal, silver sheet inlay covers the entire panel, being keyed to the creature itself by its body decoration, pressed down into the cut-back field around it, and secured at the edges by the incised lines of the rectangular panel. In shape the animal is exactly like the beasts in the outer zone of the Sarre quoit brooch, the 'frame' and the three compartments with their 'fur' pattern being virtually identical. The head, however, appears to have had open jaws, and the upcurled tail is reduced to two scrolls, one at the back of the neck, the other on the rump. The rounded end of the strap-end is framed by punched dots and is ornamented by a line of five engraved and tangented double circles. At the tip is a tiny engraved ring.

8. *Alfriston, Sussex*, grave 17.[2] Lewes Museum (pl. XVI, *c*, fig. 8, 9).

Buckle, plate, and counterplate: width of loop 4 cm.; width of plates 3·75 cm. × 2 mm. thick. The loop is kidney-shaped and fluted, each scallop being accentuated by parallel incised lines with hatching between. The tongue is of the simple type with slight waisting between the curved tip and flat back. One plate is attached to the loop by a hinge of sheet bronze that folds over the bar and is riveted to the back of the plate and originally to the end of the belt. The end of the plate farthest from the loop has a rivet-hole in each corner by which it was additionally attached to the belt. The second plate was attached to the belt, probably on the other side of the buckle, by means of four rivets. The two plates are almost identical and are divided horizontally into three compartments. The central one contains a row of four sunken roundels, each with a hatched frame, in two of which there remain discs of pale green glass. The flanking panels each contain a pair of confronted, back-turned, animals, separated from each other by a bar. They have rounded ears, outcurved jaws, round eyes, and frond-like feet, and the tail is bent up across the back. At the heels there is a curious ball-like feature, which may be a misunderstood version of a tail like that of the animals on the inside of the Howletts (no. 3) quoit brooch. The bodies are in couchant position and have a hatched 'frame' around an inner panel which in two cases still carries the remains of silver sheet inlay. The keying or 'fur' pattern varies from animal to animal, but the most general form consists of punched dots that encircle the thigh, two engraved arcs separating thigh from forequarters, and a leaf-shaped compartment on the shoulder like that on the Howletts (no. 3) brooch. Originally it is likely that the whole of the animals and their containing rectangular panels were silver covered.

---

[1] Evison (1955), pl. VIII, *b*, no. 46.

[2] Evison (1955), pl. VIII, *e*, no. 45; Leeds (1936), pl. III, *d*; *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lvi, pl. IX, 1; Brown (1915), iv, pl. CLIV, 4.

Associations. A triangular bronze mount with three rivet-holes and milled edges.

9. *Croydon, Surrey.*[1] British Museum, Reg. No. 1895. 3–13. 40 (pl. xvii, *a*, fig. 8, 11).

Tubular object: maximum length 8·6 cm. This consists of a tube with one flattened side, which is cast in one piece with a shorter tube that meets it at right angles in the centre. The object is hollow throughout and the three open ends on the convex side terminate in rounded, notched, and projecting angles. Opposite the junction of the two tubes is the fixed part of a hinge attachment with the iron pin still in it. On either side of the main tube at one end are two cast loops, to one of which is still attached a folded tab fastened by a single rivet and decorated with a border of punched dots. The loop holding it is badly worn. The longer tube is divided into three sections by bands of moulding. In the central section is an incised quadruped in couchant position, which has a horse-like head, with the eye, nostril and ear clearly marked. It has a hatched 'frame' enclosing an inner panel which shows traces of silver sheet inlay, keyed by punched dots and incised arcs. The panel between the two loops is vacant because of a hole due to a fault in the casting, but it had at some time been covered by a bronze plate which may have carried decoration. The panel at the other end of the tube contains a pair of degenerate quadrupeds, or hippocamps, confronted belly to belly, with pellets between their noses. The figures have a hatched 'frame' around a panel bearing traces of silver inlay and keying of punched dots, while on the shoulder of each is the leaf-shaped compartment noticed before.

Associations. A bronze-bound wooden bucket.

10. *High Down, Sussex*, grave 34.[2] Worthing Museum (pl. xvi, *c*).

Buckle and plate: width of loop 3·75 cm., total length 6 cm., cut from sheet bronze 3 mm. thick. The outer edge of the rectangular loop is marked off by parallel lines with tooling between, the inner edge by a line of punched dots. The centre of the loop is decorated by fourteen roundels carved in low relief. They and the panel that encloses them are entirely covered by silver sheet inlay, which is pressed down into the excavated field and keyed to the roundels themselves by two concentric incised rings with hatching between. The tongue of the buckle is missing but was of iron. The loop was attached to its plate by two folded bronze hinges that were riveted to the belt and the back of the plate. The heart-shaped plate has another rivet-hole at its tip. It has a border of stamped pellet-within-triangle decoration, and a central boss in the form of a collar of cast bronze with a notched flange containing a circular piece of red glass set *en cabochon*. The collar and the part of the plate around it are thickly gilt.

Associations. With it were an iron knife, spearhead and purse-mount.

11. *High Down, Sussex*, grave 12.[3] Worthing Museum (pl. xvii, *b*).

Belt slide: length 4·5 cm. The central section is square and decorated in 'chip-carved' style. It has an outer border of billeting between parallel lines, and a central lozenge-shaped panel containing a floriate cross in deep relief framed by bands of moulding, one of which is cross-tooled. The remaining corners each have a triangular panel enclosing a single scroll flanked by pellets. The two ends of the belt slide are on a lower plane and are composed of the outcurving heads of two animals. They have open jaws; lightly notched, rounded, ears; and eyes represented by round-headed copper rivets, at once functional and ornamental. Two bronze rivets are placed at the junction of the necks of the animals. These latter are bordered on the outside by a groove accentuated by punched dots, and on the inside by a band of billeting. The central part of the necks and the triangle between them show traces of silver sheet inlay.

---

[1] Brown (1915), iv, pl. xcix, fig. 4; *P.S.A.* 2 s., xv, p. 333; Evison (1955), pl. vii, *e*, no. 41.

[2] Evison (1955), pl. vii, *c*, no. 44; *Archaeologia*, lv, pl. ix, 2.

[3] Evison (1955), pl. viii, *c* and *d*, no. 43; *Archaeologia*, liv, pl. xxvii, 8, p. 374.

Associations. A bronze small-long brooch with lozenge-shaped foot and horned head-plate.[1]

12. *Chessell Down, I.O.W.* grave 3.[2] British Museum, Reg. No. 1867. 7–29. 117 (fig. 2).

Strap-end: 5·2 cm. long. This is basically rectangular in shape with the solid end terminating in three squarish projections and the split end narrowing to a lozenge surmounted by a rounded lobe which is pierced by a rivet. Lozenge and lobe are outlined by engraved lines and the lobe has a border of hatching. Below the lozenge on either side are down-biting horse-heads, with incised manes and well-defined ears. The edges of the strap-end are framed by tooling between parallel lines, and a single incised line which encloses a central panel that rises to a peak between the two horse-heads. At this point there is a motive consisting of a stamped pellet-within-triangle with three punched dots at each corner, and this is matched by another in reverse just below the lozenge. The remainder of the surface is occupied by an incised design of intersecting Vs, forming two diamond shapes which contain smaller cross-hatched diamond-shaped panels. The angles at the sides contain four triangles with a fill of punched dots. Substantial traces of silver remaining in these panels suggest that all the decoration was primarily keying for sheet inlay.

Associations. Two silver-gilt square-headed brooches,[3] a silver-mounted crystal ball,[4] a bird brooch of duck type,[5] a buckle and beads.

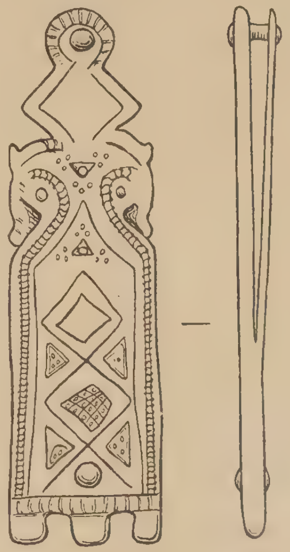


FIG. 2. No. 12. Strap-end, Chessell Down, I.O.W., grave 3 ($\frac{3}{2}$).

Objects in bronze

13. *Cursley Hill, Bishopstone, Bucks.*[6] Aylesbury Museum (fig. 3).

Belt plate: 3·5 cm. × 3·25 cm., cut from sheet bronze 1 mm. thick. The centre of the plate is occupied by a rectangle divided into four triangles, the broader pair containing a single scroll flanked by pellets, the other pair a smaller reversed triangle. This panel is framed by incised lines, followed by a broad plain zone, and then further incised lines overlaid by punched dots mark off the outer decorated border. The rivet-holes in the corners of the plate are framed in double contoured squares with hatched edges. The remaining part of each edge is decorated by confronted animals with back-turned heads, in couchant position. They have long rounded muzzles; pointed ears; scut-like tails; and well-defined feet and claws. Each beast is treated in the 'frame' style, the inner panel being hatched on the shoulder and filled with punched dots on the hip. There is no trace of inlay on any part of the plate and the engraved pattern is nowhere deep enough to have acted as keying.

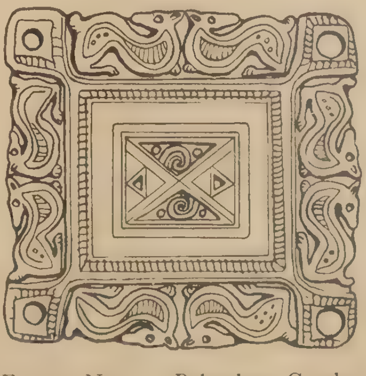


FIG. 3. No. 13. Belt-plate, Cursley Hill, Bishopstone, Bucks. ($\frac{3}{2}$).

[1] *Archaeologia*, liv, pl. XXVII, 4; Leeds (1945), p. 101, fig. 23, *g*.

[2] Evison (1955), pl. VIII, *a*, no. 40; Hillier (1856), fig. 65.

[3] Hillier (1856), no. 26.

[4] Smith (1923), fig. 73.

[5] Brown (1915), iii, pl. XLVI, 4.

[6] Leeds (1936), p. 7, pl. III, *c*; Brown (1915), iv, pl. CV, fig. 1.

14. *Howletts, N.E. Kent.*[1] British Museum, Reg. No. 1935. 10–29. 10 (pl. XVII, *c*).

Belt plate: 4·2 cm. × 3·1 cm., cut down from a larger plate. There is a rivet-hole in each corner, and the decoration is 'chip-carved' in sharp relief. The main part of the plate is occupied by a rectangular panel containing a design of interlocking, triple-outlined crosses. On three sides this panel is framed by engraved lines and hatching and surrounded by a plain, broad border: on the fourth side they have been cut away. On the most complete side can be seen a fragment of the original zoomorphic border in the form of the bellies and hindlegs of a pair of couchant animals placed back to back. The 'frame' and the hatched inner panel, and the frond-like feet, make it certain that these animals were in the same style as those on the other objects described. It is probable that the plate when complete had a border very like that on the Bishopstone plate (no. 13). It is clear that there never was any silver sheet inlay.

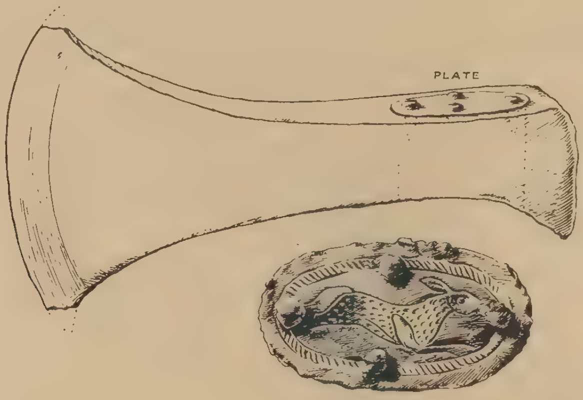


FIG. 4. No. 16. Francisca with decorated plate, Howletts, Kent ($\frac{1}{1}$ and $\frac{2}{1}$) (after *Ant. J.* iv, 276).

Associations. A button brooch, a buckle with rectangular plate decorated with a square-cut garnet and Style I animal ornament, and fragments of gilt-bronze, one of which was decorated with a human mask.[2]

Related metalwork

15. *Bidford-on-Avon, Warwicks.*[3] Worcester Museum (pl. XVII, *d*).

Bronze mounts from a bucket: these consist of three animal-figure appliqués and fragments of bronze binding strips, all executed in repoussé technique. The animals are back-turned, biting the end of their tails, and have outcurved open jaws, large pointed ears, and round eyes. The feet have not survived. The bodies have a hatched 'frame' around a panel containing degenerate vine-scroll or arcading, and rosette motives. The thigh compartment is demarcated and the shoulder of one animal is marked by a leaf-shaped panel. The bronze strips are decorated with similar rosettes and arcading.

16. *Howletts, N.E. Kent.*[4] Now lost (fig. 4).

Oval plate of bronze: 4 cm. long; once riveted over the top of the haft of a francisca. It is decorated with the engraved figure of a running hare, whose body has an incised 'fur' pattern. It is enclosed in an oval band of hatching, interrupted by the heads of four rivets.

---

[1] *British Museum Quarterly*, x, 132, pl. XXXIX.

[2] *Ibid.* pl. XXXIX.

[3] Leeds (1936), p. 7, pl. III, *b*; Brown (1915), iii, pl. IV, 8.

[4] *Ant. J.* iv, 276.

17. *Alfriston, Sussex*, grave 43.[1] Lewes Museum (pl. XVII, *e*).

Silver penannular brooch: diam. 4·1 cm., cut from thin sheet silver. The brooch is not completely circular and the flat ring narrows towards the opening, where the ends are folded back on themselves and carved into the shape of full-face animal heads. These have outcurved jaws, and a face framed by a halo of hatching, out of which spring rounded ears. The edge of the brooch consists of an openwork border of confronted pairs of simple, open-jawed, animal heads. The main zone of decoration is framed by cross-tooled incised lines and consists of running tendrilled scrolls, filled with punched dots. This is interrupted on the side opposite the opening by a single schematic human mask, shield-shaped, and with round eyes and wedge-shaped nose. It is flanked by four tiny half-masks. The pin is of plain silver. It folds over a simple silver collar which is riveted to the inside of the brooch, and its point is secured under one of the animal-head terminals.

Associations. A glass cone beaker, a square-headed brooch, two smaller square-headed brooches, two pairs of small gilt-bronze equal-armed brooches, a square buckle loop, and two coins of Constantine and Constantius, beads and bronze rings.[2]

18. *Lyminge, S.E. Kent*, grave 10.[3] Maidstone Museum (fig. 5).

Bronze penannular brooch: maximum diam. 4·25 cm., slightly oval in shape. The terminals are folded over and carved in the form of schematic animal heads in profile, with open jaws and round eyes. The main decorative zone is framed by hatched bands and divided by similar bands into seven compartments. The pair next to the terminals contain leaf-shaped motives with the rounded ends developed into circlet eyes, and the tips flanked by three punched dots. The second pair of panels contains grazing quadrupeds, with outcurved jaws and pricked ears, the bodies being divided by hatched bands into three dot-filled compartments. Legs and tail are indicated by single engraved lines, and the tail ends in three punched dots. The third pair of panels are smaller and are divided by diagonally crossing lines into four triangles in which are engraved concentric semicircles. The seventh panel, opposite the terminals, is simply cross-hatched. A small hole at the base of this panel provided the hinge for the pin.

Associations. A bronze applied saucer-brooch with star-decoration.[4]

19. *High Down, Sussex*, grave 60.[5] Worthing Museum (fig. 6).

Bronze quoit brooch: of unusual square shape with rounded angles: 4·75 cm. across. Concentric incised rings, with cross-tooling at intervals, divide the main zone of running tendrilled-and-spotted-scroll decoration, from the corners which are occupied by confronted pairs of tendrilled scrolls. The entire brooch is bordered by a band of tooling. The bronze pin hinges through a round hole, and its point is secured by means of V-shaped slit and ball stop-knobs, as on the Kentish quoit brooches.

Associations. Two bronze disc brooches, one plain and tinned, the other decorated with stamped rings; an iron buckle and knife.

20. *Brighthampton, Oxfordshire*, grave 31.[6] Ashmolean Museum (fig. 7).

Bronze scabbard chape: decorated on each side at the top by a pair of back-turned animals and, below them, by the down-curving heads of birds of prey, two at each side. The outlines are incised and the bodies covered by gold inlay. The animals are simplified quadrupeds with curled tails. The mouth of the scabbard is decorated by a bronze mount ornamented by a band of S-shaped spirals with transverse moulding at the sides.

---

[1] Leeds (1936), pl. II, *b*; Brown (1915), iii, 283, pl. XLIX, 2; Åberg (1926), fig. 300; *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lvii, pl. XXIX, 1, pp. 39–40.

[2] *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lvii, pls. III, 1, IV, 5, 5*a*, 10 and V, 5, 5*a*.

[3] *Arch. Cant.* lxix, 11, fig. 7.

[4] *Ibid.* fig. 6, 5.

[5] *Archaeologia*, lv, pl. IX, 4; *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, 344, fig. 7.

[6] *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, 96, pl. II, and lxiii, 174; Åberg (1926), pp. 141–2, fig. 271; Brown (1915), iii, 224, pl. XXVII, 5–7; *V.C.H. Oxfordshire*, i, 360–1, pl. XXVII, *a*, *b*, *c*; Leeds (1913), pp. 56 ff.

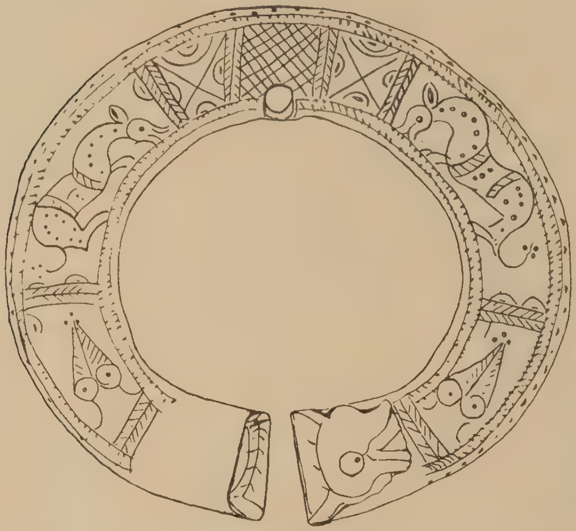


FIG. 5. No. 18. Penannular brooch, Lyminge, Kent, grave 10 ($\frac{2}{1}$) (after *Arch. Cant.* lxix, fig. 7).

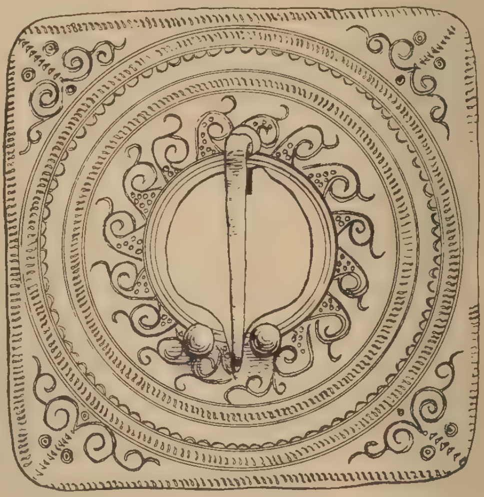


FIG. 6. No. 19. Quoit brooch, High Down, Sussex, grave 60 ($\frac{3}{2}$).

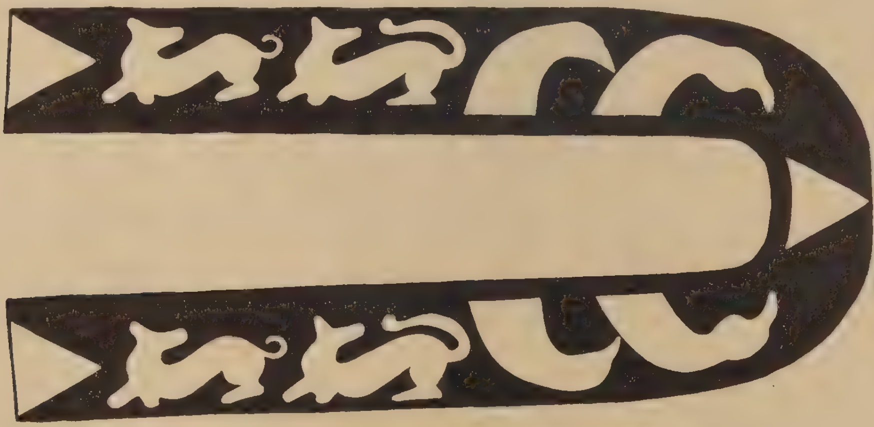
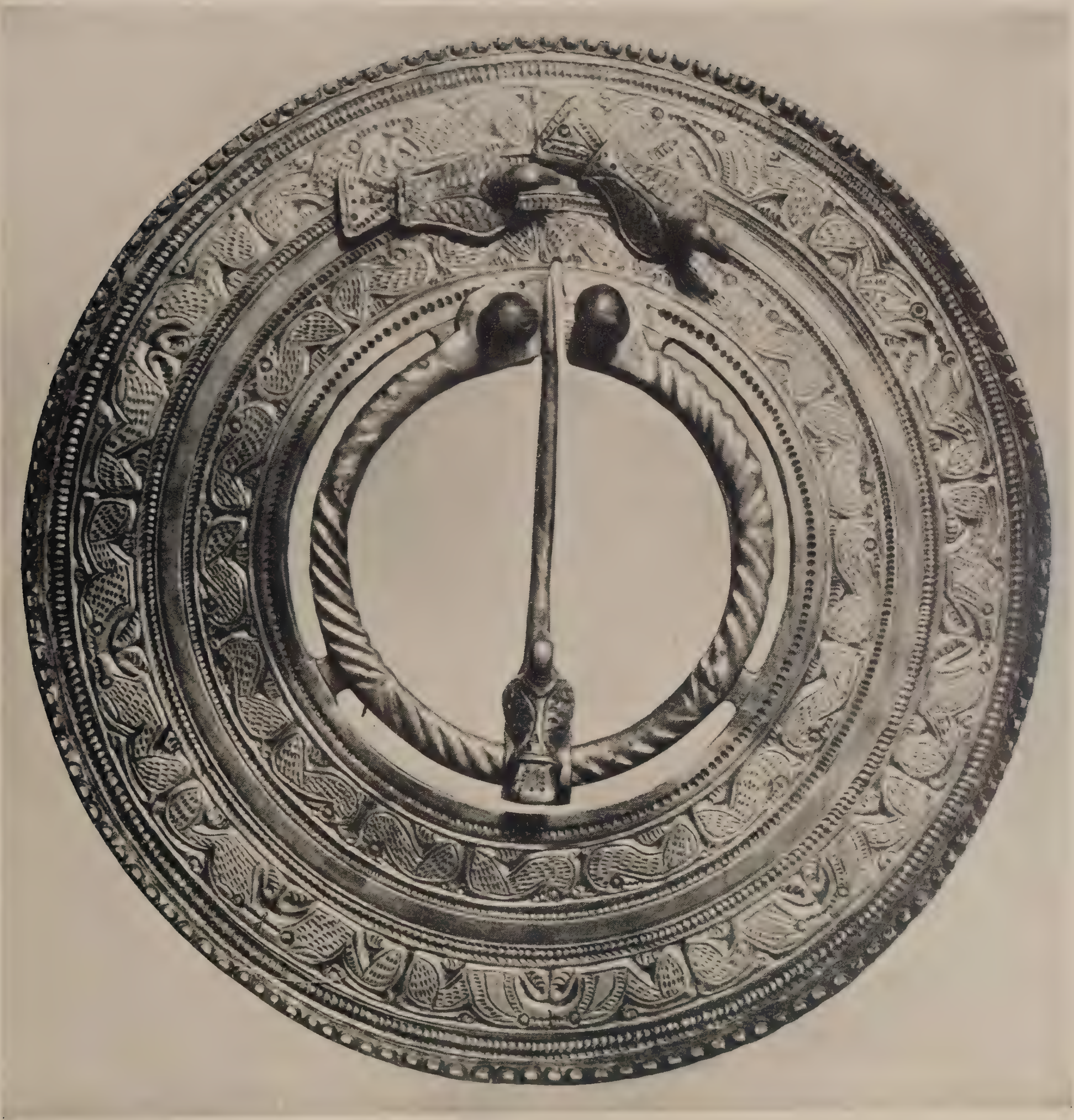


FIG. 7. No. 20. Scabbard chape, Brighthampton, Oxfordshire, grave 31 ($\frac{1}{1}$).

Associations. With the sword was a flat silver cross of 'Greek' type which was evidently part of the scabbard fittings; amber bead sword-knot, knife, spear-head, and remains of a bronze-bound bucket.

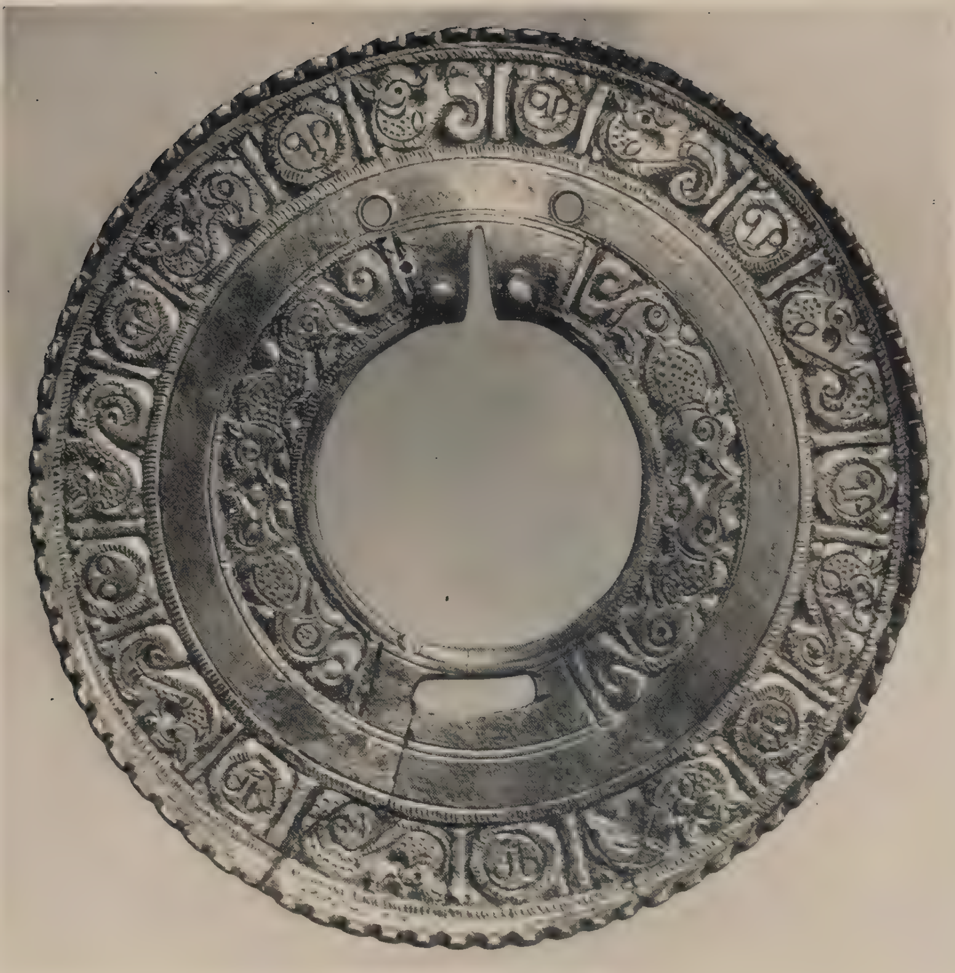
THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STYLE

The close stylistic connexion between many of the objects listed above should be evident at a glance, but it is necessary to define the features of the Jutish Style A with some precision before proceeding further with the discussion.

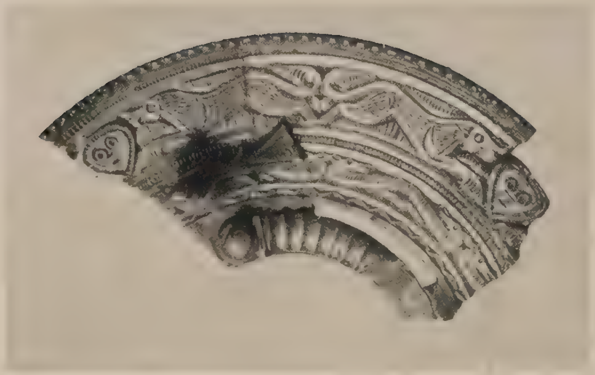


No. 1. Quoit brooch from Sarre, Kent ($\frac{5}{2}$)

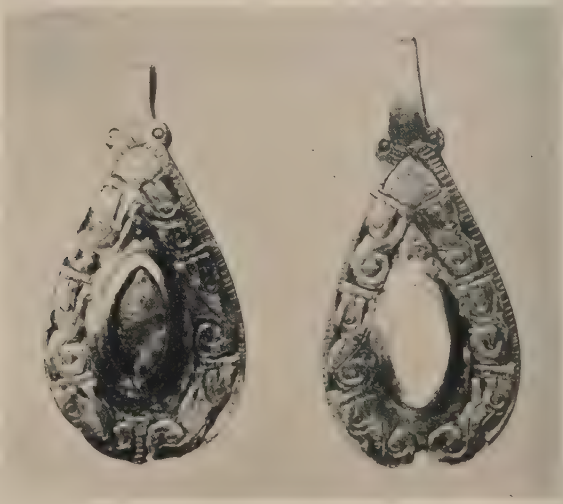
PLATE XV



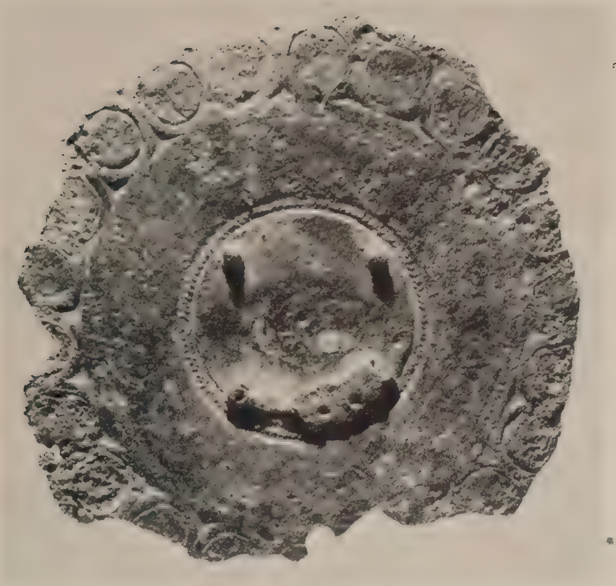
a. No. 3. Quoit brooch from Howletts, Kent ($\frac{2}{1}$)



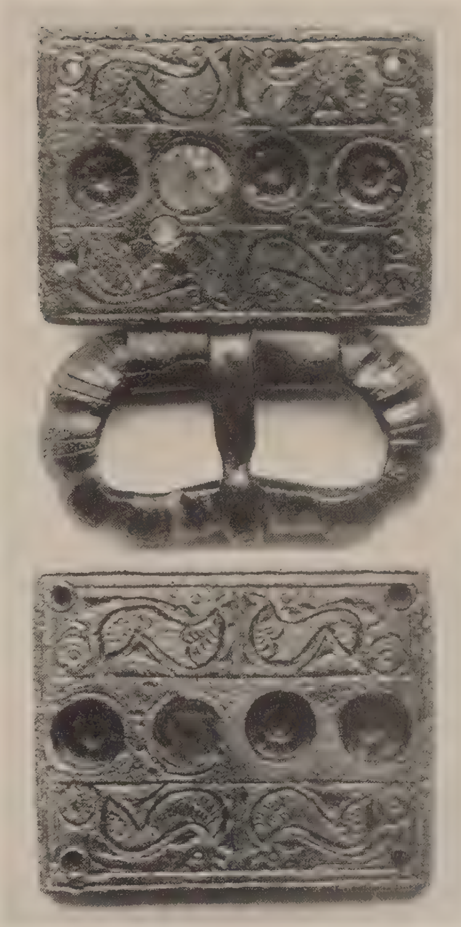
b. No. 2. Fragmentary quoit brooch from Howletts, Kent, grave 13 ($\frac{3}{2}$)

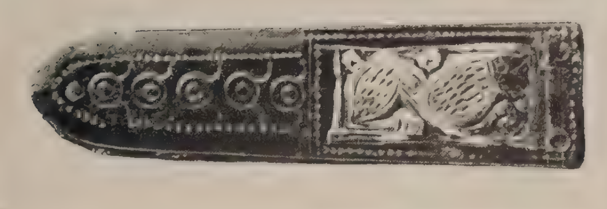


c. No. 4. Pair of pendants from Bifrons, Kent ($\frac{2}{1}$)



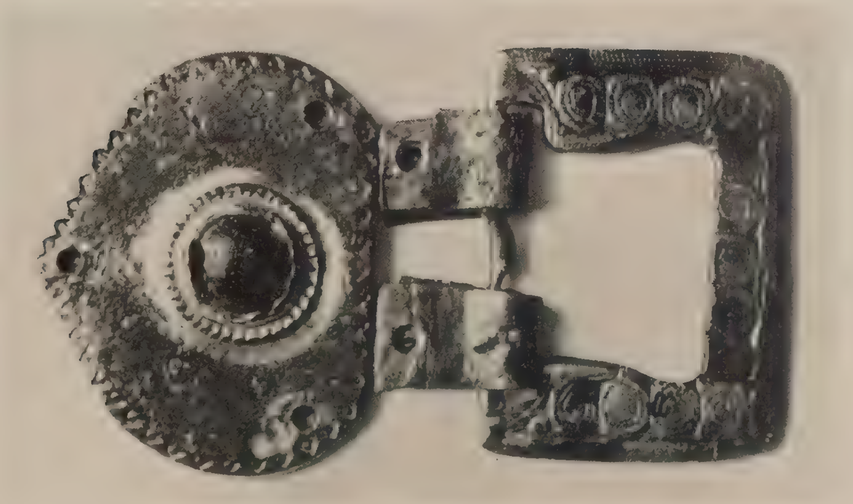
a. No. 6. Disc brooch from Higham, Kent ($\frac{3}{2}$)





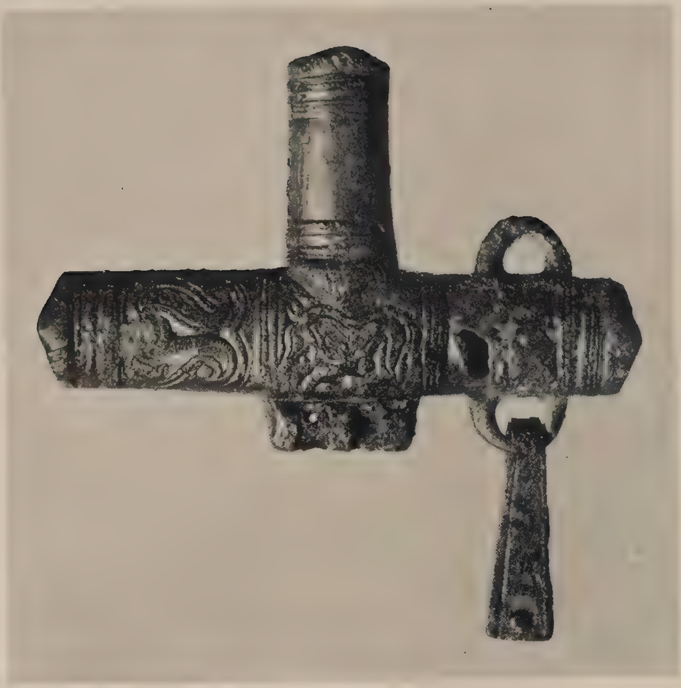
b. No. 7. Strap end from Bifrons, Kent ($\frac{2}{1}$)

c. No. 8. Buckle and plates from Alfriston, Sussex, grave 17 ($\frac{3}{2}$)

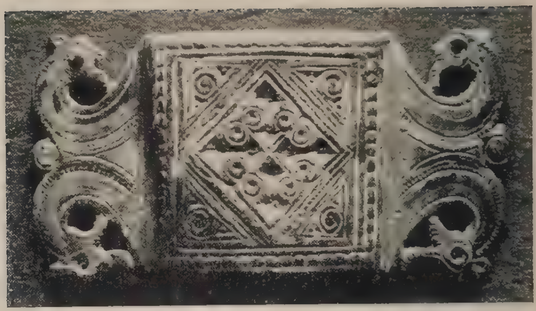


d. No. 10. Buckle and plate from High Down, Sussex, grave 34 ($\frac{3}{2}$)

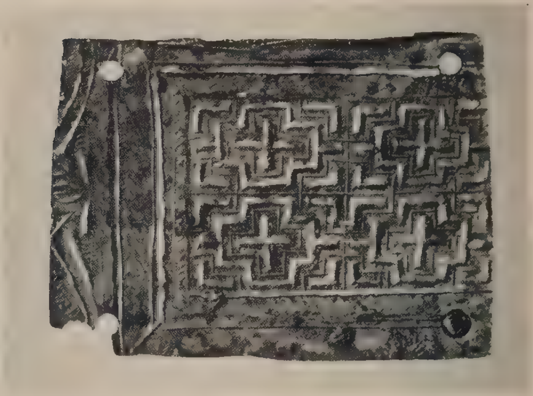
PLATE XVII



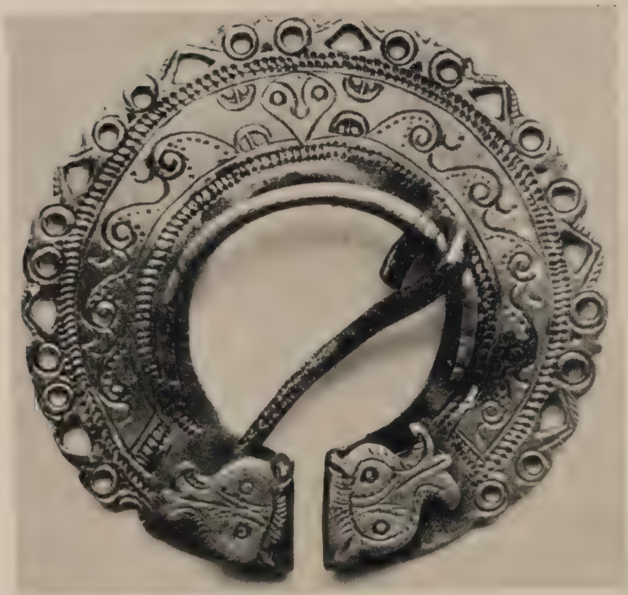
a. No. 9. Tubular object from Croydon, Surrey ($\frac{1}{1}$)



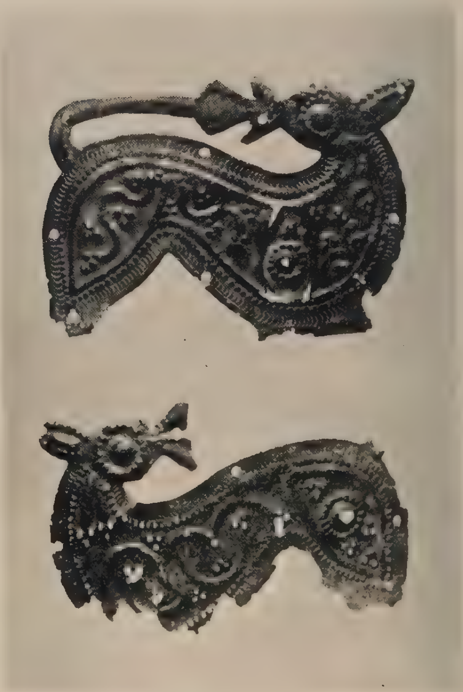
b. No. 11. Belt slide from High Down, Sussex, grave 12 ($\frac{3}{2}$)



c. No. 14. Belt plate from Howletts, Kent ($\frac{3}{2}$)



e. No. 17. Penannular brooch from Alfriston, Sussex, grave 43 ($\frac{2}{1}$)



d. No. 15. Bucket mounts from Bidford-on-Avon, Warwicks. ($\frac{1}{1}$)

The shapes of the various objects are very diverse, but it is worth noting that, while the disc form of the Faversham and Higham brooches (fig. 1, pl. XVI, *a*) is not found elsewhere in the group, concentric zones of formally repeating ornament laid out around a central roundel are likewise the basis of the decoration of the three Kentish quoit brooches (pls. XIV, XV, *a–b*). The cutting away of the central roundel on the quoit brooches, and its enrichment by a boss on the disc brooches, are merely two alternative renderings of the same design. In the juxtaposition of bands of different metals and colours, the Faversham brooch with its bronze and silver zones is again closely paralleled by the quoit brooches with their contrasts of silver and gilt. On all four, this effect of contrast is heightened by the skilful use of plain and decorated surfaces. Indeed, on all the inlaid pieces contrasts, particularly of metal against metal, are exploited to a greater or lesser degree, and despite the worn and damaged condition of some of them it can be seen that originally they must have been as effective as the fine silver-gilt objects. On a number of the pieces further contrast has been provided by the addition of applied or raised collars containing coloured glass set *en cabochon*. Such settings occur on the Faversham disc brooch and another must once have graced the Higham disc brooch: another is still to be seen on one of the Bifrons pendants (pl. XV, *c*), and yet a fourth occurs on the buckle-plate from High Down, grave 34 (pl. XVI, *d*). The flat green glass insets on the Alfriston buckle plates (pl. XVI, *c*) perhaps belong to the same tradition, but are clearly influenced by other metalwork of the period (p. 49). The red copper eyes of the animals on the High Down belt-slide (pl. XVII, *b*) are yet another variation on the same theme. It can be concluded, therefore, that the Jutish Style A, while not exactly a polychrome style, does make considerable use of contrasts in colour and materials.

In certain of their minor decorative features also there is much similarity between the individual pieces. Versions of the pellet-within-triangle stamp occur on both disc brooches, on the plate of the High Down buckle, on the doves of the Sarre quoit brooch, and on the Chessell Down strap-end (fig. 2). A linear form of the same motive, adapted to the chasing technique, is to be seen on the fragmentary quoit brooch from Howletts (pl. XV, *b*), where it appears as a zigzag and dot. This stamp is not a common one,[1] but it does appear on two of the smaller quoit brooches from High Down,[2] which seem to be cheaper versions of the rich Kentish quoit brooches. Two of the inlaid objects, the High Down belt-slide and the belt-plate from Cursley Hill (fig. 3), have a square central panel containing geometric designs, and common to both is the distinctive motive of a triangle that encloses a single scroll flanked by two pellets. Stylized scroll decoration occurs again on the Faversham disc brooch, this time as a continuous frieze. The friezes of scrolls on the Alfriston penannular brooch (pl. XVII, *e*) and the square quoit brooch from High Down (fig. 6), however, are different in character. Although the riveted collar on one brooch, and the pin-slit and cast knobs on the other, suggest a closer affinity with the Kentish pieces, their tendrilled and spotted scrolls are far less geometric and appear to belong to another tradition. Something of the difference in feeling is well illustrated by the Bifrons strap-end (pl. XVI, *b*) whose tangented circlet decoration may well be descended from the tendrilled scroll. But the feature in the hands of the Kentish craftsman has become entirely geometric and formalized. It is this formalism which is perhaps one of the chief characteristics of the Jutish Style A, and it is not so apparent on the Sussex brooches. For this reason they have not been included in the main group although clearly they are closely related to it. They do, for example, share such minor characteristics as the narrow bands of hatching or tooling which appear in one form or another on all the Jutish Style A objects.

---

[1] It appears infrequently on late Roman metalwork and occasionally on objects from fifth- and sixth-century Anglo-Saxon graves.

[2] One from grave 7 (*Archaeologia*, liv, 372, fig. 2; *V.C.H. Sussex*, i, p. 344), the other from an unrecorded grave, both in Worthing Museum.

The simplified masks on the complete quoit brooch from Howletts (pl. XV, *a*), with their two round eyes and rudimentary nose framed in a halo of hatching, are closely paralleled by the shield-shaped masks of the fragmentary brooch from the same cemetery (pl. XV, *b*). The single mask on the Alfriston penannular is of much the same type. The inlaid roundels on the Higham disc brooch were probably, as already argued, masks of the same kind, but their arrangement is a novel feature. A reflection of the idea may be seen, however, on the square loop from the High Down buckle (pl. XVI, *d*) where the inlaid roundels with their halos of hatched lines lack only the features to be exactly parallel. On the two Howletts quoit brooches the masks are used individually to punctuate a frieze of animal ornament; on one they alternate with single animals; on the other they are placed between the paws of confronted animals in an almost heraldic composition.

The placing of the animals in the Jutish Style A is always symmetrical. On the Sarre and fragmentary Howletts quoit brooches there are unbroken friezes of confronted animals, while on the Faversham disc brooch and the Bifrons pendants (pl. XV, *c*) we have processions of animals nose-to-tail. On the inner ring of the complete Howletts brooch, and on the edges of the Alfriston, Cursley Hill, and Howletts (pl. XVII, *c*) plates, animals appear in pairs, confronted or back to back. On the Chessell Down strap-end (fig. 2) and the High Down belt-slide (pl. XVII, *b*) there are balanced pairs of down-curving horse-heads. The arrangement varies according to the scope and shape afforded by the object to be decorated, but the principle of symmetry is constant.

The animal figures themselves fall into several main types. On the Faversham disc brooch there are comparatively naturalistic hares with curled hind-quarters, and with these may be grouped the little curled creatures in the outer ring of the complete Howletts quoit brooch and on the Bifrons pendants (fig. 8, 1–3). The amorphous hippocamps on the Croydon object (pl. XVII, *a*) also belong to this little group. The second group consists of couchant back-turned quadrupeds. Those on the Cursley Hill plate (fig. 8, 10) are not far removed in form from those on the inner part of the Sarre quoit brooch (fig. 8, 8) and are akin to those on the Alfriston plates (fig. 8, 9). The Alfriston animals in their turn are closely related to the animal appliqués from the Bidford-on-Avon bucket (pl. XVII, *d*), which appear to be copied, in a different technique, from the animals of the Jutish Style A. With the back-turned animals must be placed the elongated creatures from the inner ring of the Howletts fragment (fig. 8, 6), although they are oddities none the less. The third group comprises the running hound on the same brooch (fig. 8, 5) and with it should be placed the fleeing hare on the oval francisca plate from the same cemetery (fig. 4) which may be a copy of it. The fourth group consists of the ferocious couchant beast in the outer zone of the Sarre brooch (fig. 8, 7) and its close relative, almost an exact replica, on the Bifrons strap-end (pl. xvi, *b*). The animals on the cut-down plate from Howletts (pl. xv, *b*) may have been of this type. Finally there are other examples that defy classification, such as the sinuous beasts on the inner part of the Howletts quoit brooch (fig. 8, 4) and the horse-like animal on the Croydon object (fig. 8, 11).

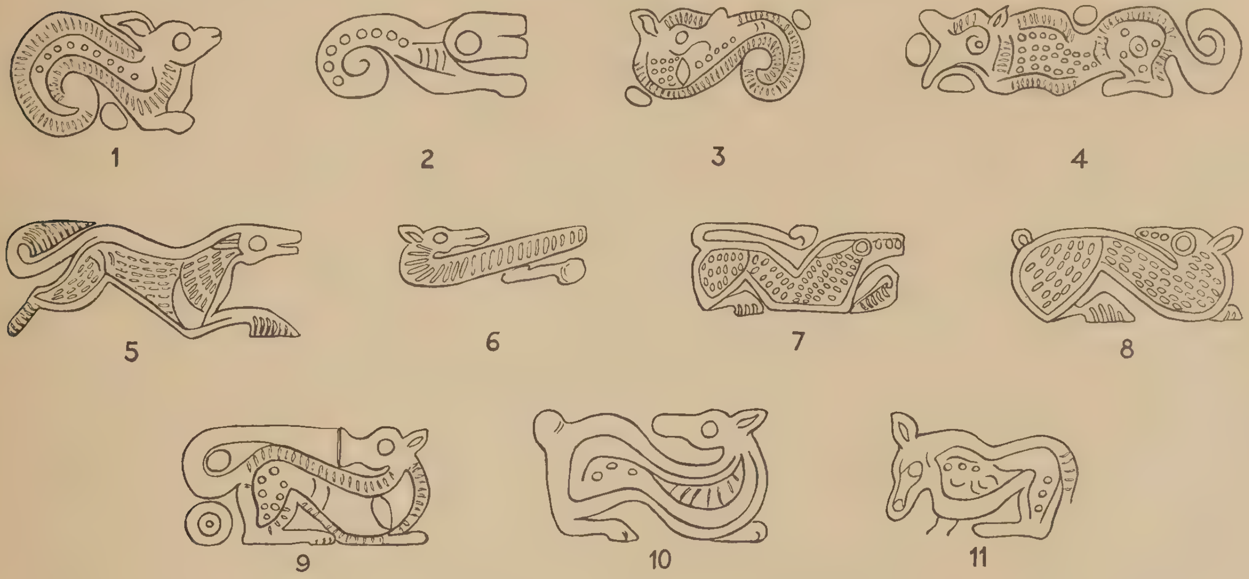


Fig. 8. Details of the Jutish Style A animal figures. 1, Faversham disc brooch (no. 5); 2, Bifrons pendants (no. 4); 3–4, Howletts quoit brooch (no. 3); 5–6, Howletts quoit brooch fragment (no. 2); 7–8, Sarre quoit brooch (no. 1); 9, Alfriston buckle plates (no. 8); 10. Cursley Hill, Bishopstone, plate (no. 13); and 11, Croydon tubular object (no. 9).

Cutting across these variations in form are features common to all the animals in the Jutish Style A; namely, the double contour or 'frame' enclosing an inner panel that contains some form of 'fur' pattern, either of punched dots, incised lines, or chased ovals. This may be called the hallmark of the style, but its origin is a little difficult to explain, unless it is the direct outcome of the silver-sheet-inlay technique. The best-preserved example of an inlaid animal is that on the Bifrons strap-end, and here the style fulfils a specific function in that the silver is pressed into the incised 'frame' and additionally secured by the 'fur' pattern of sharp incisions which bite through the silver into the bronze beneath. The diversion of the animal into three sections, by the marking off of thigh and shoulder, is also functional, since, in practice, the smaller the expanse of unkeyed silver, the better chance it has of staying in place. The hatched 'frame', the leaf-shaped shoulder panels on the Alfriston and Croydon creatures, and the whole range of dots and arcs, in fact all the surface decoration, serves the double purpose of pleasing the eye and securing the silver to its bronze base.

What then is one to say about the appearance of the 'frame' and accompanying features on the objects that have no silver inlay? The complete quoit brooch from Howletts has animals with hatched 'frames', leaf-shaped shoulder panels, and punched dot fill, which are yet carved from solid silver and gilded. The Cursley Hill plate has never carried silver inlay and yet its animals have lightly engraved decoration that looks like keying. Was it merely copied directly from one of the inlaid pieces? The most obvious explanation is that the requirements of sheet-inlay technique created the distinctive 'frame' convention, which was then adopted as a purely ornamental feature and employed on the silverwork. This of course would seem to imply that the silver-inlaid objects were made first; a reversal of the usual procedure by which the work in precious metal is later copied in a cheaper medium. In this instance, however, despite the apparent shortage of precious metal at this period,[1] there is no indication, except possibly in the case of the Higham disc brooch, that the silver inlay was being used to simulate solid silver. As suggested above, the main intention seems to have been to produce an effect of contrast. From the point of view of the materials used, the bronze work was of course cheaper, but the standard of craftsmanship on these pieces is not necessarily lower. As an illustration of this we have the Faversham disc brooch whose frieze of animals is better executed than those on the silver quoit brooch from Howletts (no. 3). Certainly there is good evidence to suggest that in some cases both silver and bronze objects were made and decorated by the same craftsman. This is most clearly seen on some of the Kentish work. The animals in the outer zone of the Sarre quoit brooch, as we have already noticed, are almost exactly paralleled on the Bifrons strap-end. The Sarre brooch, with its detailed ornament and precision of technique, is the product of a master craftsman who must also have created the other chased quoit brooch from Howletts (no. 2). It is almost certain that the Bifrons strap-end is by his hand, for, animal similarities apart, it is itself an exquisite piece of work in the humbler, but no less exacting, medium of sheet inlay on bronze, and quite up to the standard of the Master of the Sarre Quoit Brooch, as we may call him. If we search further for his work, the Faversham disc brooch, with its skilled and delicate carving and its continuous animal frieze, at once comes to mind. There can be no reasonable doubt that we have here four fine examples of metalwork produced by the same man, employing two different techniques.

The interrelationships between the various pieces in the style do not end here, however. It is likely that the very similar disc brooches from Higham and Faversham came from the same workshop. The complete quoit brooch from Howletts (no. 3), which has carved decoration, is in form and design very closely related to the two chased quoit brooches; its masks speak of some contact with the Higham disc, and its animals are most akin in type to those on the Faversham brooch. The man who made this carved quoit brooch probably also created the Bifrons pendants, for not only do the animals have a pronounced family likeness, but the techniques used, and the trick of dividing the decorative frieze into compartments, are remarkably similar on each. In fact, it is likely that all the finest examples of the Jutish Style A found in Kent were made in the workshop which produced the Sarre brooch. They may even have been work of the same craftsman, the difference in quality being explained by a growing mastery of style and technique over a period of years. Even if this were not the case, the similarities are close enough to suggest that the lesser pieces were created under the direct influence of the Master of the Sarre Quoit Brooch, perhaps by his apprentices or assistants. From the surviving examples of its work, there can be little doubt that this workshop was based in Kent. And considering that the best of the Jutish Style A objects are grouped in the cemeteries around Canterbury (fig. 9), it is to this region that we must look for their origin. The finest examples of the style were made and worn here.

---

[1] Silver does not appear in any quantity before the sixth century. See below, p. 57.

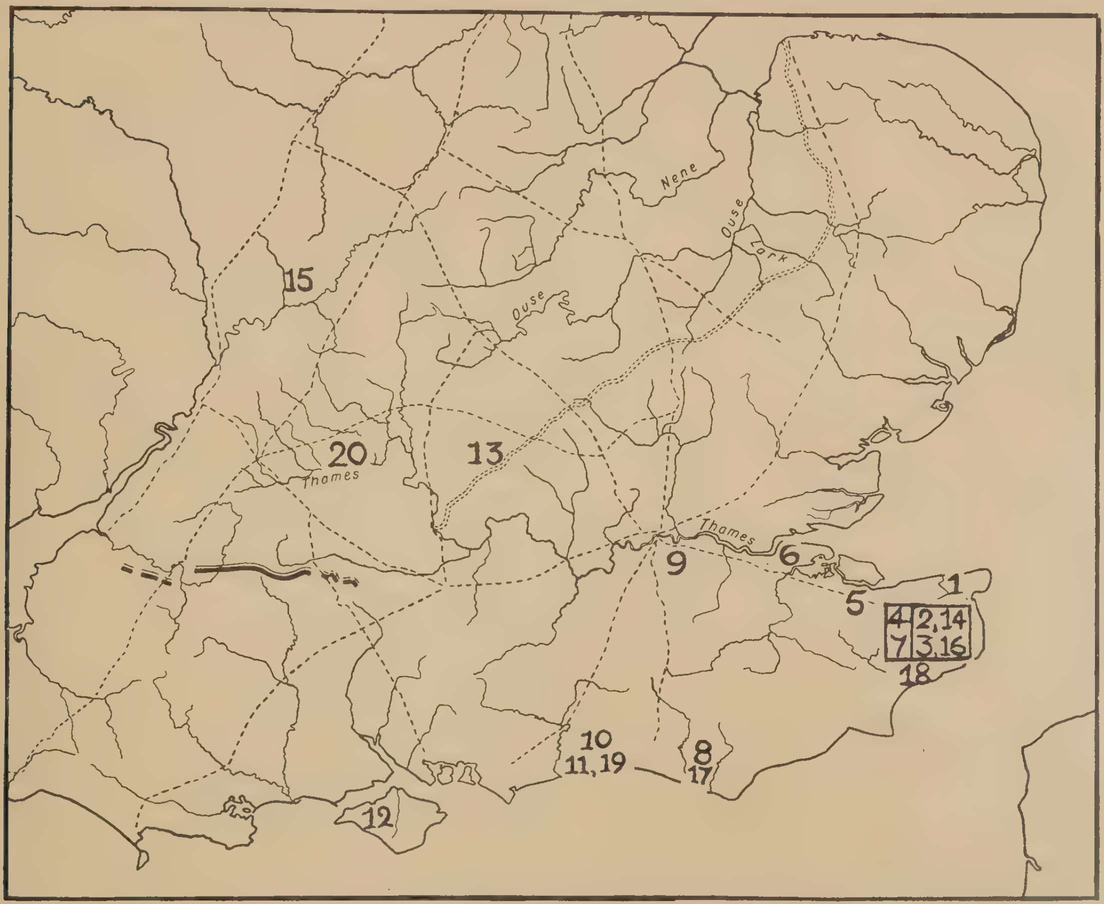


FIG. 9. Distribution of the Jutish Style A and related metalwork.

It is now time to consider the examples of the Jutish Style A which have been found outside Kent, in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the Isle of Wight, Sussex, Surrey, and Buckinghamshire. Were they also products of the Kentish workshop? To answer this question we must take them region by region.

The famous cemetery of Chessell Down on the Isle of Wight contained burials equipped with rich grave-goods which were undoubtedly of Kentish manufacture and mostly of sixth-century date. This evidence, supported as it is by the historical records,[1] has been generally taken to mean that the early sixth-century settlers of the island were Jutish colonists from Kent. The woman buried in grave 3 at Chessell Down was no exception in this, and thus the inlaid strap-end (fig. 2) could very easily have been brought from Kent together with the rest of her typically Jutish jewellery. The horse-heads on this strap-end recall those on the belt-slide from High Down in Sussex (pl. XVII, *b*). These in their turn are closely paralleled by the very similar heads on a pair of bow-brooches from Bifrons in Kent (pl. XXI, *f*), which seem to be of much the same date.[2] The second piece from High Down, the buckle (pl. XVI, *d*) whose inlaid roundels have already been compared with those on the Higham disc brooch, is likewise most easily explained as Kentish. And the finest of all the Jutish Style A objects from Sussex, or indeed from anywhere outside Kent, namely the buckle and plates from Alfriston (pl. XVI, *c*), has so many features in common with the best of the Kentish work that it could very easily have been made by the Master of the Sarre Quoit Brooch himself. There would be nothing remarkable about this, if the period during which these objects came to Sussex coincided with the Bretwaldaship of the South Saxon King Aelle. One could imagine such ornaments being sent as gifts or as part of the dowries of Kentish brides. However, such an explanation may be too simple, and must be examined in the light of the next group of finds.

This consists of two Jutish Style A objects found at Croydon in north Surrey (pl. XVII, *a*) and Bishopstone in Buckinghamshire (fig. 3), and related objects found as far away as Brighthampton, on the Upper Thames in Oxfordshire (fig. 7), and Bidford, on the Warwickshire Avon (pl. XVII, *d*). These could conveniently have come from Kent, but none of them is of unmistakably Kentish manufacture. The Croydon piece, crude and unintelligent in its decoration, looks more like a local copy, and the Bishopstone plate and the Bidford bucket mounts resemble most closely the Sussex pieces—the Alfriston buckle-plates and the High Down belt-slide. This may be purely fortuitous and due only to the chances of survival, but it somewhat complicates the question of where they were made. Were they in fact made in Sussex and not in Kent at all? That there was a workshop in Sussex at this period which had connexions both with Kent and with the Thames Valley is demonstrated by a small group of brooches most numerous in the High Down cemetery[3] but with a few outliers in the cemeteries of the Thames Valley.[4] There is one from Kent, from the cemetery at Risely, near Horton Kirby,[5] in the Saxon-influenced, north-western part of the county. These Sussex brooches are small bronze versions of the fine Kentish silver quoit brooches. They have the pin-slit and ball-stop knobs of the Kentish prototypes, but only simple stamped decoration. This includes the arcade and three-dot ornament of the Bidford bucket mounts. Ultimately this is a degenerate form of late classical art which Leeds has noticed in connexion with certain early Merovingian buckets, and two similar buckets found at Faversham and Howletts in Kent.[1] There are perhaps faint echoes of this motive on the Lyminge penannular brooch (fig. 5) and also on the Chessell Down strap-end, but it is not a feature of the main group of the Jutish Style A pieces from Kent. The Sussex workshop clearly had a stronger late classical tradition.[2] To it we may probably attribute the square annular brooch from High Down (fig. 6) and the Alfriston penannular brooch (pl. XVII, *e*) with their tendrilled and spotted scrolls. Even at its best, however, the work of the Sussex school lacks the originality and brilliance of the Kentish workshop. Just as it took the form of the quoit brooches from Kent, so also it may have copied the penannular form used on the Alfriston brooch from Kentish examples similar to that from Lyminge.[3] This Kentish element makes it not impossible that the Sussex workshop was responsible for some of the Jutish Style A pieces found outside Kent. There can be no certainty about this, but it must be mentioned as a possibility all the same. One might suggest, for example, that, while the Alfriston buckle and plates are likely to have been made in Kent, the High Down belt-slide could have been a South Saxon essay in the silver-sheet inlay technique. The Bishopstone plate could have been made in the same Sussex workshop, in imitation of some Kentish piece—perhaps even the Alfriston buckle itself—and have subsequently found its way north, during the period of Ælle's overlordship, in the course of trading or political intercourse between the two areas. In the present state of knowledge it is impossible to be more definite. A great deal more new material of this type needs to be found. The one certain thing that can be said is that the finest of the Jutish Style A objects were undoubtedly made in Kent by a single workshop, and that it is these objects which constitute the nucleus or heart of the style. The peripheral pieces are more ambiguous, sparse in their distribution and problematical in their interpretation.

---

[1] Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (ed. C. Plummer, 1896), i, chap. xv; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, for the year 534; Asser, *Life of King Alfred* (ed. W. H. Stevenson, 1904), chap. 2.

[2] Tomlinson Collection, Maidstone Museum. Brown (1915), iii, pl. LXX, centre right.

[3] There are eight in Worthing Museum.

[4] Examples with ball-stop knobs occurred at Croydon, Abingdon, and Frilford. The derivative types with retaining ridge replacing the knobs have a much wider distribution in the south Midlands.

[5] Borough Museum, Dartford, Kent.

Outside the decoration of the objects themselves, there is no guide to the chronological sequence of the objects in the Jutish Style A. The external dating evidence is too general to do more than place the group in time approximately. To attempt a typological analysis is perhaps a trifle ambitious, since the very characteristics that make these fourteen different objects a style also suggest that they were all produced within a comparatively short time. There are one or two indications worth considering, however. The Faversham and Howletts (no. 3) brooches show the style at its most naturalistic, but even here formalism is well advanced. On the Alfriston belt-plates it is possible to see a change, in that the animals are more angular, rigid, and stylized, and this tendency appears to reach its culmination on the Sarre brooch and Bifrons strap-end, where the animals attain a barbaric severity that is entirely original and new. In the Sarre brooch, in particular, we have the most perfect surviving expression, both in style and technique, of the art to which the Jutish Style A is striving. This is not a naturalistic art either in intention or achievement. The much vaunted naturalism of the animal form is a very partial thing; and the term 'naturalistic' is excusable only where it is desired to contrast the Jutish Style A with fully developed Anglo-Saxon Styles I and II. In the group of objects as we have them, even on what are apparently the earliest members of the group, the move away from naturalism is very pronounced, and on the finest among them the art of the Jutish Style A is intensely mannered and sophisticated.

---

[1] Leeds (1936), pp. 17–18.

[2] The late classical ingredients in the Sussex style may not be merely a survival of Romano-British art. Evison (1955) has shown the high proportion of imported Frankish iron buckles in the Sussex cemeteries. These buckles are apparently contemporary with the styles under discussion, and their inlay and occasional repoussé silver plates are in late classical tradition. They may well have influenced the Sussex school.

[3] A simpler bronze penannular brooch from grave 22 at Risely has flattened animal head terminals very similar to those on the Lyminge and Alfriston penannular brooches. (Borough Museum, Dartford, Kent.)

DATING EVIDENCE

It is unfortunate that of all the objects in the group, only five come from recorded grave groups. The fragmentary quoit brooch from Howletts was apparently found with a bottle vase in pottery, roughly wheel-turned and decorated with scratched chevron ornament. This vase, like another from Finglesham, grave E1, seems to represent a local attempt to imitate the finer imported bottles with rouletted ornament, and cannot reasonably be dated earlier than the second half of the sixth century.[1] The associations of the Alfriston buckle-plates and the High Down buckle are unhelpful, but the High Down belt-slide was found with an unusual type of small-long brooch which has a horned headplate.[2] Leeds lists five examples from this country, none securely dated, but the inspiration for the type appears to be a series of brooches from the region of Thuringia which Kühn places in the sixth century.[3] The Chessell Down strap-end, associated as it was with crystal ball, bird brooch, and square-headed brooches, was presumably buried in the middle of the sixth century.[4] The Howletts grave which contained the reused belt-plate (pl. XVII, *c*), button brooch, and buckle with Style I ornamented plate,[5] may be a little earlier. The plate with the Jutish Style A ornament, however, was old when buried, and had been worn, cut down, and worn again already before the time of burial. The date of its manufacture must thus have been considerably earlier than that of the objects buried with it. The associations of the remaining objects in the Jutish Style A are not known. The Sarre and Faversham cemeteries as a whole contained objects which range in date from the fifth to seventh centuries, and afford little help in this matter. The Howletts cemetery, however, was in use only during the fifth and sixth centuries, and the finds from Higham also include very early material. Finally, the collection of material, from unrecorded graves at Bifrons, in which the strap-end and pendants occurred, contains some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon finds from the Canterbury area, finds which take us back as far as the middle of the fifth century.

Of the related metalwork, the Alfriston penannular brooch cannot have been buried before the middle of the sixth century,[6] and the Lyminge penannular, associated with an early applied brooch, was perhaps deposited rather earlier in that century. Its condition—it has been worn, broken, and worn again—indicates that it was made during the latter part of the fifth century.

---

[1] Chadwick (1958)², p. 38.

[2] *Archaeologia*, liv, pl. XXVII, 4; Leeds (1945), p. 101, fig. 23, *g*.

[3] Kühn (1940), Type 19, pp. 185 ff., pl. LXXXII.

[4] Evison (1955), pl. VIII, *a*, no. 40; Hillier (1856), fig. 65.

[5] *British Museum Quarterly*, x, 132, pl. XXXIX.

[6] *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lvii, pls. III, 1, IV, 5, 5*a*, 10 and V, 5, 5*a*.

The external dating evidence, therefore, is not conclusive, but does strongly suggest that most of the objects were buried during the early and middle years of the sixth century. The condition of many of them is bad enough to suggest long use, and the cemeteries in which they occur without exception had their beginnings in the fifth century.

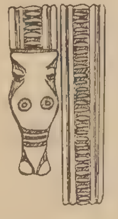


FIG. 10. Silver finger ring, Guildown, Surrey, grave 206 ($\frac{3}{2}$).

Consideration of the objects themselves gives further information. The chasing technique is virtually unknown elsewhere in early Anglo-Saxon archaeology, but its appearance on a ring from the Guildown cemetery, Surrey,[1] adds one other example that may have been produced by the Kentish workshop. Its terminals are decorated with animal heads like those at the foot of fifth-century cruciform brooches (fig. 10) and these independently hint at a date for the technique. The dating of the silver-sheet inlay technique has been discussed by Miss Evison and placed in the latter part of the fifth century. As evidence she notes that strap-ends like the Bifrons piece, bronze tubular objects related to the Croydon object, and heart-shaped buckle-plates like that from High Down, occur predominantly in very early Anglo-Saxon graves.[2] Very similar strap-ends and buckles occur in middle and late-fifth-century Frankish graves on the Continent.[3] Miss Evison also stresses the very close connexion between the objects of bronze inlaid with sheet silver and those with wire inlay on iron.[4] The buckle and plates from Alfriston provide a particularly good illustration of this point, for the kidney-shaped loop and the glass insets on the plates seem to have been the result of direct influence from some of the inlaid iron buckles.[5] Miss Evison therefore suggests that the Alfriston buckle was the latest of the sheet-inlaid bronze pieces, 'but even so, hardly later than the last part of the fifth century'. We have seen, however, that on stylistic grounds there is no reason to place this object later than the Bifrons strap-end and the Sarre quoit brooch, on which the style is at its most mature. The iron, wire-inlaid, objects appear to have been manufactured in the last part of the fifth century and the first part of the sixth, and taking this, and the other evidence set out above, into consideration, it may be necessary to modify Miss Evison's conclusions. While a late-fifth-century date for the production of the Jutish Style A seems most acceptable, the possibility that the style continued into the early years of the sixth century cannot altogether be ruled out. This would readily explain why some of the objects were buried as late as the middle period of the sixth century.

---

[1] Grave 206. *Surrey Arch. Coll.* xxxix (1931), pl. XI, *c*.

[2] Evison (1955), pp. 28–29. She notes in particular the evidence provided by grave 13 at Reading, where a strap-end and tube of the types in question occur with a pedestal pot, Roman coins and zoomorphic buckle loop; objects indicative of a fifth-century date (*J.B.A.A.* I, figs. 22–25 and 28).

[3] See in particular a somewhat similar strap-end, but without the animal ornament, in the Belgian cemetery of Haillot, grave 11. This grave appears to date from the middle of the fifth century; cf. Breuer and Roosens (1957), pp. 214 ff. and 270 ff., fig. 13, 13. Another grave of a slightly later date, grave 43 at Krefeld Gellep, contained an almost identical strap-end; cf. A. Steeger, 'Ein frühfränkisches Kriegergrab von Krefeld Gellep', *Mainzer Zeitschrift*, xxi (1937), 182–8. Buckles with heart-shaped or kidney-shaped plates occur in Frankish graves of the fifth century. They can be of bronze with decorated or undecorated plates, or of iron with large-cell glass cloisonné ornament. Our High Down buckle with its rectangular loop is reminiscent in its form of some of the late-fifth-century cloisonné buckles; cf. Breuer and Roosens (1957), fig. 18, 4, pl. IX, 2, from Haillot grave 16; discussed at length in an appendix by Werner (pp. 323 ff.) who quotes other examples. There is a good example from the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Faversham in Kent (Åberg (1926), p. 98, fig. 178).

[4] Evison (1955), p. 28.

[5] *Ibid.* pls. III, *f*. IV, *c* and *d*.

Before finally accepting this date, it is necessary to examine the one remaining objection that could be raised to it. This is the idea, implicit in Leeds's theory,[1] that all examples of the Jutish Style A are survivals from the period before the Anglo-Saxon settlement; they were picked up or looted by the invaders, and are found only in Anglo-Saxon graves simply because in the first half of the fifth century the Romano-British population was not burying personal possessions with its dead.

Survivals from this period do exist. There are several types of late-Roman and sub-Roman belt-fittings which occasionally occur in early Anglo-Saxon graves. Among these are the buckles with animal-head terminals or confronted dolphins, which sometimes have horse-head crests. Most of these are certainly of late Romano-British or sub-Romano-British manufacture.[2] Some may have found their way into the graves of the families or descendants of men who had served in the Roman army in this country, as Germanic federates or *limitanei*; others may have been acquired in Britain during the settlement period. Almost all are badly worn and, where datable, usually occur in recognizably fifth-century graves; rarely graves as late as those in which the Jutish Style A objects have been found. Even more significant is the fact that large numbers of these objects are discovered widely scattered throughout the country in the late levels of Romano-British towns, villas, and military sites.[3] These, in fact, were the kind of objects being worn by the military and perhaps to some extent by the civil population in the years leading up to the Anglo-Saxon settlement of Britain. But if the Jutish Style A objects had belonged to this same period, as Leeds imagined, then one would surely expect the odd find or two from late Roman sites. As we have seen, this is not the case. Even the distribution is different; the zoomorphic buckles are widely distributed in the lowland zone of the country, whereas the Jutish Style A is confined to a more limited area. In addition, a study of finds from late Roman sites produces nothing at all comparable with the Jutish Style A for style and craftsmanship. The one or two exceptions quoted by Kendrick, such as the dolphin brooch from London[4] and the ring from the Amesbury hoard decorated with a fallen deer,[5] are isolated examples illustrating a general late Romano-British tendency towards the barbarization of classical art, and offer no real parallel for the mergence of so distinctive and individual a style as the one under discussion. The bulk of late-Roman metalwork is stereotyped and mass-produced; the objects decorated with the Jutish Style A are rare, craftsman-made, works of art.

---

[1] Leeds (1936), pp. 4–7.

[2] The small D-shaped buckles with horse-head decoration and confronted dolphins are certainly a native variation, no examples being known from the Continent. They have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves at Bifrons (Brown (1915), iii, pl. LXX, 6); Stratford grave 70 (unpublished in the New Place Museum, Stratford-upon-Avon); similar buckles with dolphin heads alone occurred at Blewburton Hill, grave 2 (*Berks. Arch. Journ.* liii (1952–3), 51, fig. 19, 5); and Broadway, Worcs. grave 1 (*Antiq. J.* xxxviii, pp. 62 and 73, pl. XI, *a*, fig. 4, 2).

[3] The finds are too numerous to list in detail but horse-head types are known from Waternewton, Northants; Cirencester and the Spoonley Wood villa, Glos.; and Gestingthorpe, Essex, Richborough, Kent, Dorchester, Oxon., etc.; dolphin-head types at Caerwent, Colchester, Lydney, N. Wraxall villa, Wilts., Silchester, W. Dean villa, Wilts., and Lullingstone villa, Kent. Loops with zoomorphic terminals found at W. Dean, Wilts., Bradwell and Colchester, Essex, and Richborough, Kent, are probably imports from the Continent, where they are common on the military frontiers. Cf. Behrens (1930); Werner (1930); and the late Gallo-Roman and federate cemeteries of Furfooz (Nenquin (1953) and Vermand (Pilloy (1896–1903), ii; and Eck (1891), etc.).

[4] Kendrick (1938), pp. 81–82, pl. XXXIII, 1.

[5] *P.S.A.* i, s., iv (1859), 27; *British Museum, Catalogue of Finger Rings*, nos. 1205–7; Brailsford (1951), fig. 13, 6.

Skilled metalcraft of the calibre of the Sarre quoit brooch presupposes the existence of a wealthy society under whose patronage the master and his workshop flourished. The question that now arises is whether such a society existed in the period before 450. In 1933 and 1938 it was perhaps possible for Kendrick to think it did, and to attribute the animal style and his class II cloisonné disc brooches to a British society in fifth-century Canterbury, sufficiently flourishing to be able to exclude the invading Germanic peoples from the immediate vicinity of the town.[1] Subsequent events have made the theory completely untenable. The discovery of the Sutton Hoo Ship burial has made it abundantly clear that the composite cloisonné disc brooches belong to the seventh century,[2] and post-war excavation in Canterbury has failed to reveal any trace of this period of 'Arthurian brilliance'. What it has revealed, on the other hand, is that a Germanic settlement existed in Canterbury already by about 450 and continued, apparently unbroken, until Canterbury became the capital of Aethelberht's kingdom.[3] Canterbury, in fact, appears to have been the focus of the early settlement of Kent, as the cluster of early cemeteries within a few miles of its walls testifies. It is from just these cemeteries, as we have seen, that the Jutish Style A in its richest manifestations has come. In these cemeteries there is ample evidence of the wealth that is apparently lacking in the earlier period. A study of the sparse archaeological and numismatic evidence for the early fifth century in Britain reveals a sadly straitened sub-Roman economy, impoverished by the cessation of imports from abroad and seemingly devoid of recuperative powers in the field of art. The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in the south of England, on the other hand, show towards the end of the fifth century the first signs of the great flowering of material culture that was to reach its culmination in Kent during the sixth and seventh centuries. All the evidence points to the Jutish Style A being part of this development, and the inevitable conclusion, therefore, is that the wealthy society for which it was created was that of the Germanic overlords of Kent and Sussex.

This argument can be finally clinched with reference to the technique of silver inlay. Sheet inlaying is very rare indeed outside the Jutish Style A, but its close connexion with the wire-inlaid metalwork is beyond dispute. Much work has recently been done on the question of the origin and distribution of the techniques, both here and abroad,[4] and, largely as a result of Dr. Wilhelm Holmquist's study of the subject, sufficient is now known to permit of certain general conclusions. Miss Evison summarized these conclusions in her paper as follows:[5]

> In dealing with the Scandinavian development in the Roman and Migration periods, considerable notice was devoted to contemporary material on the Continent and in England. The

---

[1] Kendrick (1933), p. 451.

[2] The *rapprochement* between the Sutton Hoo jewellery and the work of the Kentish goldsmiths has not yet been published in detail, but in a number of lectures on this subject Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford has made it quite clear that close relationships do exist, both in style and technique, which suggest that the composite disc brooches of the Kentish workshops are nearly contemporary with the Sutton Hoo cloisonné jewellery.

[3] The position with regard to Canterbury is summarized in Chadwick (1958)[1], pp. 56–57.

[4] Holmquist (1951); Evison (1955) and (1958); Dasnoy (1954). The results of the extensive researches into this subject carried out at the laboratory of the museum at Nancy, France, have not yet been published in detail.

[5] Evison (1955), p. 21.

evidence shows that objects inlaid in this way are much more plentiful in Scandinavia during the whole of the time under review, and that after the Roman period, which produced little on the Continent and still less in England, the first half of the fifth century has nothing to show, but there was a sudden increase in the use of this technique in the late fifth century on both sides of the Channel. Inlaid work then makes its appearance more or less simultaneously in cemeteries of the Franks, Alemanni, Thuringians and Anglo-Saxons.

The revival of the technique is thus shown to be of Germanic origin, probably as the result of impulses from the northern continent where it had long been a native Germanic tradition. There is very little trace of its use in Roman Britain and nothing to suggest any continuity from the earlier centuries into the one that concerns us here. We can now summarize as follows. The Jutish Style A belongs not to the beginning but to the end of the fifth century. The close affinities between the various pieces in the group suggest that all of them were made within a comparatively short time of each other, the latest pieces being produced perhaps at the very beginning of the sixth century.

BRITISH OR GERMANIC?

Leeds's theory that the style was the work of British craftsmen[1] is seriously undermined by this late dating. We can now see that the Jutish Style A was being created at a time when the Germanic control of the south of England was well consolidated, and that some of the pieces were executed in the silver-inlay technique which is indisputably a Germanic development. If indeed the Jutish Style A was the work of British craftsmen, then undoubtedly they were in the employ of Germanic patrons. The question now is whether there is any justification at all for suggesting that it was anything but Germanic. Kendrick could, it is true, accept a late fifth- or early sixth-century date and yet consider the style wholly British, 'albeit congenial to the Northern Germans'.[2] On analysis, the ground on which he builds this theory proves an insecure and shifting foundation. He assumes without proof. Proof is in fact elusive, and there is no convincing context now that we have dismissed the idea of prosperous British survival in Canterbury.

The Jutish Style A contains nothing that is specifically native British in origin except possibly for the inspiration of the quoit brooches. These appear to have been evolved as a result of the impact of the flat disc form on the penannular. The penannular brooch is a native British type, whose roots go back to the pre-Roman Celtic period, but which continued in manufacture especially in the north and west of Britain, throughout the post-Roman period. Dr. Savory has recently published some fifth-century examples which have zoomorphic terminals.[3] It is possible that the flat penannular brooches from Alfriston and Lyminge, with their curious animal-head terminals, may have been derived from such British types. This is far from proving British manufacture, however, since many penannular brooches, including zoomorphic types, have found their way into Anglo-Saxon hands, either as loot or stray finds. It is surely significant that such brooches have been found in the very cemeteries which produced the Jutish Style A objects. Most important are grave 6

[1] Leeds (1936), pp. 4–7.

[2] Kendrick (1938), pp. 81–83.

[3] Savory (1956), pp. 40 ff.

at Bifrons, containing a large penannular brooch[1] which is closely paralleled by another from Caerwent;[2] and grave 74 at High Down, which contained a silver copy of a similar brooch.[3] It is therefore highly probable that such British brooches were seen and studied by the craftsmen of the Kentish and Sussex workshops, and influenced them in the evolution of new forms. There can be no doubt that the broad quoit, or annular, brooch form is a new development which does not occur before Anglo-Saxon times. It is even possible that it was developed by the Kentish master craftsman specifically to carry the elaborate frieze decoration of the Jutish Style A. Certainly there is no hint of a slow evolution from the rounded to the flattened form, and these quoit brooches have little direct relationship with British penannular types.

Apart from the quoit and penannular brooches, the other objects in the Jutish Style A have nothing at all to do with British forms. The disc brooches are probably inspired by Roman types, large, late examples of which occur at Richborough[4] and elsewhere. The Bifrons strap-end and the High Down and Alfriston buckle sets are characteristically western Germanic (see p. 49). So far, then, all the evidence is in favour of the Jutish Style A being a Germanic innovation.

As far as the animal style is concerned, everything precludes its being British work. Specifically British, that is Celtic, art had gradually vanished from the lowland zone of Britain during the Roman occupation. When a distinctively Celtic art reappears after that, it finds expression in a new form of the traditional, abstract spiral ornament, executed in enamel on bronze hanging-bowl escutcheons.[5] The few exceptions which have zoomorphic decoration, such as the Benty Grange and Barton escutcheons,[6] the Lullingstone bowl[7] and the sets of escutcheons and prints from Faversham,[8] are isolated examples which show a blend of Germanic and Celtic tradition. Only the Faversham pieces have any relevance to the Jutish Style A, and their precise significance is hard to estimate. The dolphins confronted against openwork cross on the three escutcheons seem to be taken from late Gallo-Roman art and are more classical than the creatures of the Jutish Style A. The two prints are more German in character, and the one with the frieze of four small quadrupeds may well have been influenced in some way by the animal friezes of our style.[9] All these zoomorphic examples, however, are oddities that stand outside the main lines of development, and probably represent an experiment by craftsmen of one race into the art styles of the other. The bulk of the hanging bowls are in no way connected with the Jutish Style A.

It can now be said with complete certainty that there is nothing in the Jutish Style A that is specifically native British or Celtic. On the other hand, Leeds,[10] Baldwin Brown,[11] and Åberg[12] have all been correct in claiming that there is much in the style that is derived from late Roman art forms. The real question here is whether these late classical elements necessarily imply British craftwork; and to answer this we have to examine the available sources in late Romano-British culture, and if possible to establish some continuity from the fourth through the fifth century, in traditions of metalworking technique and art style.

---

[1] *Arch. Cant.* x (1876), fig. opp. p. 303.

[2] Savory (1956), pp. 43 and 47, pl. v, *g*.

[3] *Archaeologia*, lv (1897), 213, pl. IX, 5.

[4] Richborough Castle Museum.

[5] Hanging bowls have been considered by several writers: Kendrick (1932) and (1938), pp. 47 ff.; Leeds (1936), pp. 7 ff.; Henry (1936) and (1955).

[6] Henry (1936), p. 234, pl. XXXIV, 4, fig. 9*f*.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 231 ff., pl. XXX, 3; Kendrick (1938), pp. 57–58. pl. XXVIII, 1; *Arch. Cant.* iii (1860), p. 36, pl. 1.

[8] Henry (1936), pl. XXV, 2, fig. 9*a*; Kendrick (1938), pl. XXXIII, 2, fig. 18; Leeds (1936), p. 8, fig. 1; Smith (1923), fig. 51.

[9] These little creatures have a 'frame' with the inner panel filled with enamel. Apart from this, they are perhaps more reminiscent of the beasts on the Brighthampton sword chape (no. 20).

[10] Leeds (1936), pp. 4–7.

[11] Brown (1915), iv, 562–5.

[12] Åberg (1926), pp. 161–3.

There are certain features of the Jutish Style A objects which do seem to have been inspired by Romano-British, or imported Gallo-Roman, metalwork. The Higham and Faversham disc brooches, for example, appear to derive their form from a class of smaller bronze brooches of the Roman period on which concentric zones of decoration and central settings of faceted glass often occur. 'Cabochon' glass settings occur on other antiquities of the later Roman period.[1] Even more un-Germanic are the doves on the Sarre and Howletts quoit brooches, which are so clearly a new version of a common Gallo-Roman brooch form. The chief difficulty in making this kind of comparison is that all of these Roman objects are much earlier in date than the Jutish Style A, and none of them seem to have continued in manufacture in fifth-century Britain. One obvious solution is that the Kentish master craftsman had seen examples of such Roman products which had been picked up in and around Canterbury, and they had given him ideas which he incorporated into his own work. He never actually copied, however: the disc brooches are enlarged and embellished with the addition of animal friezes unknown on the smaller Roman prototypes: the Sarre and Howletts doves are technically and stylistically an improvement on their Gallo-Roman originals, and their use as ornamental excrescences on flat decorative surfaces is a new and original concept. In this adaptation of old forms to a new style we may perhaps have a glimpse of the man at work, his mind open to fresh ideas drawn from external stimuli, yet all the time transmuting them by his own highly individual artistry.

It is when we look beyond the work of the Master of the Sarre Quoit Brooch that the problem becomes at once more interesting and more perplexing, for there definitely seems to be a connexion between some of the more peripheral objects here grouped with the Jutish Style A and the late- and sub-Romano-British horse-head buckles, with their long decorated attachment-plates, which have already been mentioned above (p. 50, note 2). The two illustrated here, from a grave at Dorchester-on-Thames[2] (pl. XXI, *a*), and from a Roman site at Alwalton, Huntingdonshire[3] (fig. 11), are particularly good examples. The horse-head decoration, which is also a feature of late Roman or early Germanic combs and some other small-finds of the period, provides an obvious point of comparison, as Miss Evison has already seen,[4] with the High Down belt-slide and the Chessell Down strap-end. The plates belonging to these buckles are usually decorated by engraved, cross-hatched, geometric panels (pl. XXI, *a*) and these again recall the Chessell Down piece. We therefore appear to have a trace here of a con-

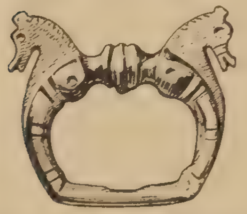


FIG. 11. Bronze buckle loop from Alwalton, Hunts. ($\frac{1}{1}$) (after *P.S.A.*, 2 s., xxiii, 414).

---

[1] Brailsford (1951), p. 28, pl. III.

[2] Kirk and Leeds (1953), pp. 69 ff., pl. IVB, fig. 27, 16.

[3] *P.S.A.* 2 s., xxiii, 413–14. (The provenance is here given incorrectly.) *V.C.H. Hunts.* i, 248–9, fig. 7.

[4] Evison (1955), pp. 29–30.

tinuity between the metalworking of the late or sub-Romano-British and early Germanic periods, but its significance is hard to estimate. The buckles themselves hold an obscure place in the confusing fifth-century pattern, and it is even likely that they themselves reflect very early Germanic influences on artistic taste in late Roman Britain. They are clearly a local development of a widespread continental fashion; a fashion for chip-carved and animal-ornamented belt fittings which seems to have originated on the Continent among the predominantly Germanic federates and *limitanei* of the Roman military frontiers. Romano-British craftsmen seem to have found it worth their while to manufacture their own particular variant of this fashion, and the presence of some of them in Anglo-Saxon graves stresses the fact that they were in use still after 450 and thus still available to inspire certain elements in the Jutish Style A. Miss Evison has gone farther, by suggesting that the hatching on these buckle-plates may have been keying for silver-sheet inlay, and thus implying an even closer connexion between the two styles.[1] A study of the surviving plates, however, makes it certain that this was not the case. The hatching is too shallow to have been functional, and no trace of silver has survived on any of them.

The High Down belt-slide and the Bishopstone plate both have central panels decorated with chip-carved, geometric patterns. These are reminiscent of designs on Continental chip-carved metalwork. The floriate cross on the High Down slide is particularly interesting as it is a version of the fourfold pelta rosette that appears on many late fourth-century buckles[2] abroad. We see it in late Roman Britain on a strap-end from Ixworth in Suffolk (pl. XXI, *e*) which may be either an imported piece or a Romano-British copy. The cross-hatching on the butt, so like that on the buckle-plates just mentioned, rather suggests the latter alternative. The High Down slide may have been designed with such late Roman chip-carved belt-fittings in mind. On the other hand, the true composition of the rosette has been misunderstood and the motive has become simply a cross with paired scrolls at the ends of its arms. This form of the rosette was early taken over into Germanic art, both in Scandinavia and in England.[3] It is therefore difficult in this case to say whether we have a direct derivation from late Roman metalwork. A transmission through early Germanic art is just as likely.

When we seek for Romano-British origins for the animal friezes which are, after all, the real essence of the Jutish Style A, obscurity deepens. The animal figures themselves fall into two main types: the hare hippocamp creatures, and the fiercer hound, or lion-like, quadrupeds. All these animals are undoubtedly classical in origin. Hunting scenes incorporating hares and hounds, lions and boars, occur frequently in Roman art. Of the late examples one should mention the knife handles decorated with a hound gripping a hare. These have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves[4] and at Richborough,[5] but they were almost certainly made on the Continent, where they are much more numerous.[1] They seem to have belonged to the same cultural milieu as the chip-carved buckles and belt-fittings noticed above. On both can be seen the first manifestations of the taste for formalized animal ornament which was to become the inspiration for Germanic Style I. On the margins of chip-carved strap-ends, and sometimes buckle-plates, there are pairs of crouching animals which show a subordination of naturalism to design that is already partly Germanic in feeling (pl. XXI, *d*). There is no doubt that this style greatly influenced the art of the German peoples in northern Europe. We see it repeated on the fifth-century equal-armed brooches of the continental Saxons, and, with modifications, on the footplates of square-headed brooches in south Scandinavia. From there, still further modified, it came to England, at the end of the fifth century, to take its place on early Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches.[2] At the end of the fourth century or at the beginning of the fifth, one or two of the Roman chip-carved belt-fittings decorated with this animal style did find their way to Britain,[3] but there is no evidence to suggest that they were ever manufactured here or that the chip-carved marginal animals ever flourished on late- and sub-Romano-British metalwork. They seem to have remained an alien Continental fashion. (Even the art of the equal-armed brooches seems to have died a natural death once their Saxon wearers reached this country. The few examples found over here in Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, and the Upper Thames Valley are imported pieces that evoked no artistic response in this country.[4]) Thus there was no British version of the late Roman chip-carving animal style on which the Jutish Style A could draw.[5]

---

[1] Evison (1955), pp. 29–30.

[2] Riegl (1927), pls. XVII, 3, XVIII, 3 and 5, XX, 3, XXII, 7–8. Forssänder (1937), fig. 20, 3.

[3] Forssänder (1937), figs. 6 and 7; Voss (1954), p. 174, fig. *b*; Chadwick (1958)^{2}, fig. 9, *b*, pls. II and V, *e*; etc.

[4] Bifrons grave 23, associated with a fifth-century cruciform brooch, buckle, and spindle whorl (*Arch. Cant.* X (1876), 308); Chatham Lines grave unknown, associated with an early sixth-century button brooch (Douglas (1793), pl. XX, 7).

[5] Brown (1915), IV, pl. CLV, 3. Other examples have been found in the Thames at Hammersmith (Wheeler

Leeds's attempt to demonstrate a close connexion between the Jutish Style A and this late Roman chip-carved metalwork was ill founded, and it has too long confused our understanding of fifth-century art in England. In casting about for a source for the Jutish Style A he was attracted by some of the metalwork in the late Roman cemetery at Vermand, in north-west France.[6] This metalwork consists mainly of just such buckles and belt-fittings as we have discussed above; the equipment of the Germanic troops attached to the Roman army of the late fourth century. Vermand is just one site among many in Belgium, north France and the Rhineland, which have produced this kind of metalwork. Leeds, however, seems to have regarded it as unique. Admittedly, the Vermand metalwork is interesting, and one grave in par-

---

(1930), p. 28, fig. 19, 4); and at Ospringe (*Society of Antiquaries, Report of the Research Committee*, viii (1931), pl. LXVII, fig. 3).

[1] These knife handles occur frequently in late Roman contexts in Belgium, France, and the Rhineland.

[2] Chadwick (1958)², pls. II and V, B, D, E.

[3] A buckle at Richborough (Roach Smith (1850), pl. V, 2). Strap-ends at Leicester (*Society of Antiquaries, Report of the Research Committee*, XV (1948), fig. 84, 15) and Icklingham (Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology).

[4] Brown (1915), iii, pl. XXXVII, 7; iv, pl. CLIV, 4–5. E. T. Leeds, 'A Saxon village near Sutton Courtenay, Berkshire', *Archaeologia*, lxxiii (1924), p. 147.

[5] Leeds suggested that the confronted creatures clasping a pellet between their jaws which appear in the inner zone of the Howletts quoit brooch (no. 3) (pl. XV, *a*), were inspired by a class of late Roman buckle whose loops are embellished with confronted dolphins. There are many of these buckles in Britain, and they have been found both on Roman sites and in Anglo-Saxon graves. They fall into the same category as the horse-head buckles discussed above—that is, they were British-made copies of continental types, with a long life in the fifth century. Again, it seems to be a case of a sub-Roman product still in use when the Jutish Style A was being created. They are not really important to its development, and they show just how degenerate and unimaginative was the British interpretation of late Roman zoomorphic art.

[6] Leeds (1936), pl. V; Pilloy (1886–1912), ii, pls. XIV, XV; Eck (1891), pls. XV, XVI.

ticular contained extremely fine chip-carved silverwork with marginal animals.[1] Other buckles with naïve and amusing engraved animal figures are unusual but do none the less occur elsewhere in Roman frontier districts, even as far away as Hungary.[2] To have made anything like a convincing case for his so-called Gallo-Roman origin for the Jutish Style A, Leeds would have had to take into account the entire corpus of late Roman chip-carved metalwork, and, as we have seen above, he would have had great difficulty in substantiating his claim. As it was, he did not attempt to put his theory on a sound basis. If we examine his argument we find that it is superficial and depends entirely on the occurrence, on both the Vermand and Jutish Style A animals, of a 'fur pattern'. This trick of speckling animals' bodies to give the effect of fur, or hair, or body marking, is an almost universal habit in late Roman art and in early Germanic art too.[3] It cannot properly be used, as Leeds used it, as the sole peg on which to hang a stylistic connexion. In any case, the Vermand metalwork was consigned to the ground during the early years of the fifth century at least half a century before the Jutish Style A was thought of. In view of what has already been said about the lack of such an art tradition in fifth-century Britain it can now be declared with certainty that there is no direct connexion between the Jutish Style A and the late Roman chip-carved metalwork, whether from Vermand or from anywhere else. The relationship, as we will see, is a very indirect one.

So far then Roman Britain has provided no convincing source for the animal friezes with their intervening masks, and the paired and confronted, symmetrically placed, beasts of the Jutish Style A. It might perhaps be thought that examples of late classical silver provided the necessary stimulus, and it is true that in such treasures as those from Mildenhall[4] and Traprain Law[5] there are examples of animal friezes punctuated by human masks. However, the absence of examples of such silver plate in Anglo-Saxon graves[6] is surely significant and suggests that by the middle of the fifth century not much of it survived to be looted. Already, several decades before this even, the progressive clipping of the silver coinage is indicative of the great value and scarcity of the metal in Britain. This silver shortage was still acute, it seems, when the Germanic settlers arrived, for even in the wealthy kingdom of Kent supplies of silver were not readily available until well on into the sixth century. Here and there, perhaps, a Roman silver plate or dish may have found its way into the treasury of an Anglo-Saxon king or chieftain, and it may be that the maker of the Sarre quoit brooch learnt the technique of chasing, so rare on Anglo-Saxon metalwork and so characteristic of Roman silver plate, at first hand from such a piece in the treasury of the king of Kent. On the other hand, it is important not to underestimate the extent of the travels of a master-jeweller at this period, and the possibility that he may have journeyed far in the perfecting of his craft is one that must be kept at the back of the mind throughout the whole of this discussion. That he learnt the distinctive features of the Jutish Style A from surviving examples of late Roman silver in Kent is but a remote possibility. There is a world of difference between the naturalistic style of the animal friezes of the classical world and the sophisticated formalism of the Jutish Style A. Nor is there any evidence for a continuing tradition of metalwork that, by stages, achieved the subtle transmutation of the former into the latter. The vital link is thus missing.

---

[1] Leeds (1936), pl. IV; Pilloy (1886–1912), pl. opp. p. 52; Eck (1891), pl. II.

[2] Riegl (1927), pl. XXII, 5; Forssänder (1937), fig. 24, 2.

[3] We see it, for example, on much of the late Roman silver plate and figured glassware; on the Saxon equal-armed brooches; and on East German work such as the Szilágy Somlyó brooches (see p. 59).

[4] Brailsford (1955), pls. II*b*, and IV.

[5] Curle (1923), pls. XX and XXIII, figs. 20 and 22.

[6] The sole exception is of course the fine Byzantine silverware in the Royal Cenotaph at Sutton Hoo, but this was brought into East Anglia at a much later date (Bruce-Mitford (1947), pp. 44 ff., pls. XIV–XVI).

By now it should be clear that the essential features of the Jutish Style A cannot be satisfactorily derived from either native British or Romano-British art. Such elements as the form of the disc, the influence of the penannular brooch, the free-standing birds, the horse-heads, and possibly the chasing technique, may have been inspired by surviving examples of British or Provincial Roman art, but the characteristic animal style itself must have originated elsewhere. All things considered, it is now time to rule the question of British craftsmanship completely out of court. The Jutish Style A must be Germanic. It was made for Germanic patrons by Germanic craftsmen.

The generalized classical elements in the Style are no problem here, for it is generally accepted that in the fifth, and even in the sixth century in some parts of the Continent, Germanic art remains basically a derivation from the Late Antique until specifically caused to be otherwise. In northern Europe and in England the specific cause for change was the development of a new animal art. As the Jutish Style A precedes the adoption of that Style I in England, we should expect it to be still predominantly late Roman in character. The fact that it is not entirely so is in itself a strong vindication of its Germanic nature, and its relatively late date. The Jutish Style A animals have obviously passed through several stages of development beyond that which we see, for example, on the Vermand buckles. The Vermand 'lions' are nothing but travesties of classical animals, and as such are the counterpart of similar creatures on the late Roman mosaic pavement from Rudstone, Yorkshire.[1] They are what one would expect from a second-rate provincial artist working in a medium he did not understand. None of the Jutish Style A animals, on the other hand, is merely an unintelligent copy of classical work. If, as Leeds has suggested, the animals in the outer zone of the Sarre brooch were also intended for lions, the contrast is particularly telling. The master of the Sarre brooch may indeed have had 'but a vague knowledge of the beast', and in this respect he was in the position of the Vermand craftsman; but it is doubtful if he was even conscious of what beast he was portraying. He was certainly not interested in depicting a realistic lion. He was creating something purely formal, yet something that was incidentally an abstract of the qualities of 'lion', or in fact of any other savage beast known to the Germanic world. Primarily, however, he was concerned with producing a design of repeating forms; a piece of pure ornament that just happened to be based on an animal. The individual figures may have been drawn originally from those in the more naturalistic scenes of Roman art, but never once in the Jutish Style A does the dog chase the hare or hunt the lion. The realistic scenes have been broken up, and the hunting and hunted beasts are parted and placed in separate processions or in confronted pairs. The abandonment of classical naturalism is quite explicit, and clearly we have here an expression of a concept of pure ornament, whereby the image is drawn, not from nature, but from the mind of the artist; a concept which in Germanic art was to reach its first full manifestation in Style I animal ornament. The Jutish Style A is therefore already an early, but none the less developed, example of Germanic animal ornament. Since there appears to be no true point of departure for it in Britain, it becomes obvious that it must have arrived already partially formulated from some region of the Continent; a region where Roman art traditions were known, and were transmuted through the medium of very early Germanic art.

---

[1] Kendrick (1938), pl. xxv.

CONTINENTAL ORIGINS

The main characteristic of the Jutish Style A, the symmetricality and formal arrangement of the animal figures, is a feature of Eastern Mediterranean art which was adopted in provincial Roman workshops in the regions of the Danube and the Rhine as early as the second and third centuries A.D. Good examples of animal friezes occur on *terra sigillata* of this period from Rheinzabern.[1] They were adopted quite early too into Eastern German art, for both friezes and confronted pairs of animals can be seen on the famous shield boss from Herpály (pl. XVIII, *a*)[2] which Werner has attributed to a Vandal workshop on the fringe of the Roman province of Pannonia.[3] The animal frieze certainly appears in Gothic art of the fourth century; a particularly good example being the running animals on the circular brooches from the second Szilágy Somlyó treasure, buried *circa* 376.[4] The first treasure from the same site contained a medallion of the Emperor Gratian (376–83) which a barbaric craftsman had mounted in a gold frame and decorated with a frieze of full-face human masks.[5] In arrangement they are similar to those on the Higham disc brooch, and in their simplification they are not unlike the masks on the quoit brooches.

Even more interesting from our point of view is the style that appears on the late Roman *Spangenhelme*, some of the earliest examples of which were dated by Andreas Alföldi[6] to the beginning of the fourth century. On the Budapest Helmet[7] there are pairs of lions confronted against vases and set off against schematic arcading and dots. All the helmets are decorated in the repoussé technique, and this particular example is additionally enriched by semi-precious stones set *en cabochon*. Similar lions and vases occur on carved stonework such as the Carnuntum friezes[8] and a grave-stone from Stojnik.[9] Alföldi has attributed the style to the Danube area,[10] but some examples of it found their way farther afield: even as far as Kent, where one appears on a lead coffin from Milton-next-Sittingbourne.[11] The motive is taken over into early Germanic art in the Rhineland on such pieces as the Petersburg helmet (pl. XVIII, *b*), on which the lions confront a vase that is almost submerged beneath a large full-face mask, and on the Gammertingen helmet (pl. XVIII, *c*) where a similar mask is placed over a tree.[1] On both the design is reminiscent of that on the Howletts (no. 2) quoit brooch fragment. On the Gammertingen helmet, the lion motive is found in company with another favourite design, this time of Christian symbolism, which consists of a vine scroll with pecking birds.

---

[1] Werner (1941), pl. IX, 4–7.

[2] *Ibid.* pls. XXVII, 2, XXVIII, and XXIX; Fettich (1930); Shetelig (1949), fig. 2.

[3] Werner (1941), p. 66.

[4] Fettich (1932), pls. IV–VI; Brown (1915), iv, pl. CXLIV, bottom.

[5] Brown (1915), iv, pl. G, iii.

[6] Alföldi (1934), p. 99.

[7] *Ibid.* pls. III–IV, figs. 14–15.

[8] *Ibid.* fig. 16. *Bericht d. Vereins Carnuntum* (1904–5), pl. 79, fig. 42.

[9] Alföldi (1934), fig. 21.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[11] Brailsford (1951), fig. 32, 3.

In the Rhine/Danube region, therefore, in late Roman and early Germanic art of the third to fifth centuries, there appear many of the elements which we have seen to be characteristic of the Jutish Style A and its related metalwork; animal friezes; friezes of masks; pairs of animals confronted against masks; and the vine scroll and arcading of the Bidford bucket mounts. Here also we find the repoussé technique and the cabochon settings. We are still, however, a long way from Kent, and must still explain by what channel this originally late Roman style came to appear in Anglo-Saxon art, at least two centuries after its first appearance in the Roman provinces.

At first sight, the problem seems simple enough. The Gammertingen helmet shows us that the style was being perpetuated on Germanic metalwork in the Rhineland. Even as late as the seventh century, a similar helmet was buried there in the prince's grave at Morken.[2] On it is another version of the mask between animals, and the vine scroll. The vine scroll alone appears on helmets from Gültingen[3] and Stössen,[4] again with birds and arcading. More degenerate examples of vine scroll and arcading decorate the Frankish buckets from Buire-sur-l'Ancre, Beauvais, Miannay, and Marchélepot,[5] and it is probably from northern France that the style reached England on the buckets mentioned above (p. 46 f.). This link between the Rhineland, northern France, and southern England is further illustrated by a small group of buckles whose repoussé plates are decorated in a style very like that of the buckets and helmets. They have been found at Kärlich in the Rhineland;[6] at Éprave in Belgium;[7] at Envermeu[8] and Normée 'La Coulisse'[9] in France; and at Bifrons,[10] Broadstairs,[11] Alfriston graves 20 and 24,[12] and High Down[13] in England. The complete examples generally have kidney-shaped loops decorated with silver-wire inlay. The type is therefore intimately connected with the main group of early inlaid buckles, with plates decorated mainly by geometric patterns in wire inlay, which again occur on both sides of the Channel. Miss Evison, in examining the problem of origin, has noted that English and continental examples 'all draw from a common stock-in-trade of mannerisms of composition, motifs, and techniques . . .'.[14] All this points to an interchange of some kind between England and north France or Belgium in the late fifth and early sixth century; an interchange that brought with it the late classical motif of the vine scroll with pecking birds. The close relationship between these wire-inlaid buckles and the sheet-inlaid Jutish Style A objects has been commented on already (p. 49). It might be thought to indicate that the Jutish Style A itself was transmitted to southern England from the western continent, not as Leeds thought from Gallo-Roman art, but from the art of the Franks who settled in Belgium and North France in the late fifth century. There is one insuperable objection to this route, however. There is absolutely no indication of any early development of Teutonic animal ornament in these Frankish territories. Zoomorphic decoration, when it finally appears well on into the sixth century, is almost entirely derivative—a loan from England or from Scandinavia. We therefore have to look elsewhere for the origin of the Jutish Style A, and if we rule out western Europe, we have only one region left—Scandinavia.

---

[1] Alföldi (1934), fig. 24; Henning (1907), pl. X, 6.

[2] *Rheinisches Jahrbuch*, i (1956), 101–2, pls. XXX, and XXXII; Böhner (1959), figs. 10–12.

[3] Alföldi (1934), fig. 26, *a*.

[4] *Ibid.* fig. 26, *b*; Ziegel (1956), pl. XXXVIII, *a*.

[5] Alföldi (1934), fig. 26*d*; Leeds (1936), figs. 4 and 5.

[6] Holmquist (1951), fig. 25, 3; Werner (1953), p. 38, pl. VI, 8.

[7] *Annales Soc. Archéol. de Namur*, XV (1881), fig. on p. 315; Brown (1910), pl. XXVI, 101.

[8] Cochet (1854), pl. XII, 4; Leeds (1936), fig. 4; Werner (1953), pl. VI, 9.

[9] Épernay Museum.

[10] Leeds (1936), pp. 18–19, pl. VII, *b*.

[11] Evison (1958), p. 241, fig. 1.

[12] Evison (1955), p. 37, pl. VII, *d*; *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lvii (1915), pl. XXIX, 2.

[13] Evison (1955), p. 39.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 23.

The subject of late Roman and Gothic influences on Scandinavian art is one that has been discussed many times, and there is no place here to do more than summarize the main points of the argument. Briefly they add up to a widespread traffic between the Danube region, the Rhineland, southern Scandinavia, and regions farther east. The import of metalwork from the eastern parts of the empire is well demonstrated by a number of fourth-century finds from north Germany, Denmark, Sweden and south Norway, at Tibble in Uppland,[1] Saetrang in Ringerike,[2] Avaldsnes on Karmøy,[3] and elsewhere too. Among them brooches and belt-fittings in the repoussé technique with settings *en cabochon* of blue glass are fairly common. As early as the third century, imports of Roman bronze vessels, *terra sigillata*, and glassware had introduced the animal frieze into Scandinavia. Such vessels have been found in north Germany at Hemmoor,[4] and in Denmark in the Sjaelland chieftains' graves at Himlingøje, Nordrup, and Valløby.[5] Other examples occurred at Varpelev and Torslunda.[6] Friezes of both animals and human masks also occur on the famous phalerae from the Thorsbjerg bog find in Schleswig.[7] These, executed in repoussé silver, have been attributed by Werner to a workshop in the Cologne neighbourhood and dated to the early third century.[8] Werner suggested that the animal frieze of the first phalera was inspired by the friezes of the Rheinzabern *terra sigillata* mentioned above. Another animal frieze occurs on the curved belt-strip from the same find (fig. 12, 1).[9] Werner has compared this with the animal figures on the Herpály shield boss, suggesting that both came from the same workshop, and both were the work of Vandal craftsmen in the Danube region. A fragment of such a boss from Thorsbjerg[10] and a complete example from Lilla Harg, Ostergotland,[11] must have come from a similar if not identical source. According to Werner all these pieces belong to the late third century. As well as animal figures, the Thorsbjerg belt-strip has a frieze of

[1] *Kongl. Vitterhets Historie och Antiqvitets Akademiens Månadsblad* (1896), pp. 28 ff.

[2] Slomann (1959), pl. v.

[3] Shetelig (1912), pp. 53 ff., fig. 123.

[4] Willers (1901), pls. ii, 1, v, 2; Werner (1941), pl. xxiii, 1, fig. 12, *b-c*.

[5] Werner (1941), pls. xxiii, 2–3, xxiv, 1–3, figs. 10–11.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. xxiv, 4–9; *Mém. Antiq. Nord* (1872–7), 57 ff.; *idem* (1878–83), pp. 3 ff.; *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndhiged* (1861), 305 ff.

[7] Werner (1941), pl. xxiv, 4–9; Engelhardt (1863), pls. vi and vii; Shetelig (1949), fig. 5; Holmquist (1955), pl. i, p. 12; Brown (1915), iii, pl. lxi, 1–2.

[8] Werner (1941), pp. 10 ff., especially p. 34.

[9] *Ibid.* pl. xxv, fig. 13; Engelhardt (1863), pl. xi, 47; Fettich (1930), pl. xx, 1.

[10] Werner (1941), pl. xxvii, 1; Engelhardt (1863), pl. viii, 18.

[11] Shetelig (1949), fig. 3; Fettich (1930), p. 223, fig. 2.

profile human masks, alternately silver and gilt on a bronze ground, the animals being gilt.

Here then we have third- and fourth-century evidence for the importation into northern Germany and southern Scandinavia of Provincial Roman and east German metalwork. These imports brought with them the friezes of masks and animals, the repoussé technique, and a polychrome style of blue glass set *en cabochon* in contrast with silver, and silver and gilding on bronze. These styles seem to have been quickly assimilated by the northern craftsmen. Shetelig illustrates an example from Telemark in Norway on which embossed silver and glass insets have been used to good effect to enrich a native brooch form.[1] It is in the matter of animal friezes, however, that it is

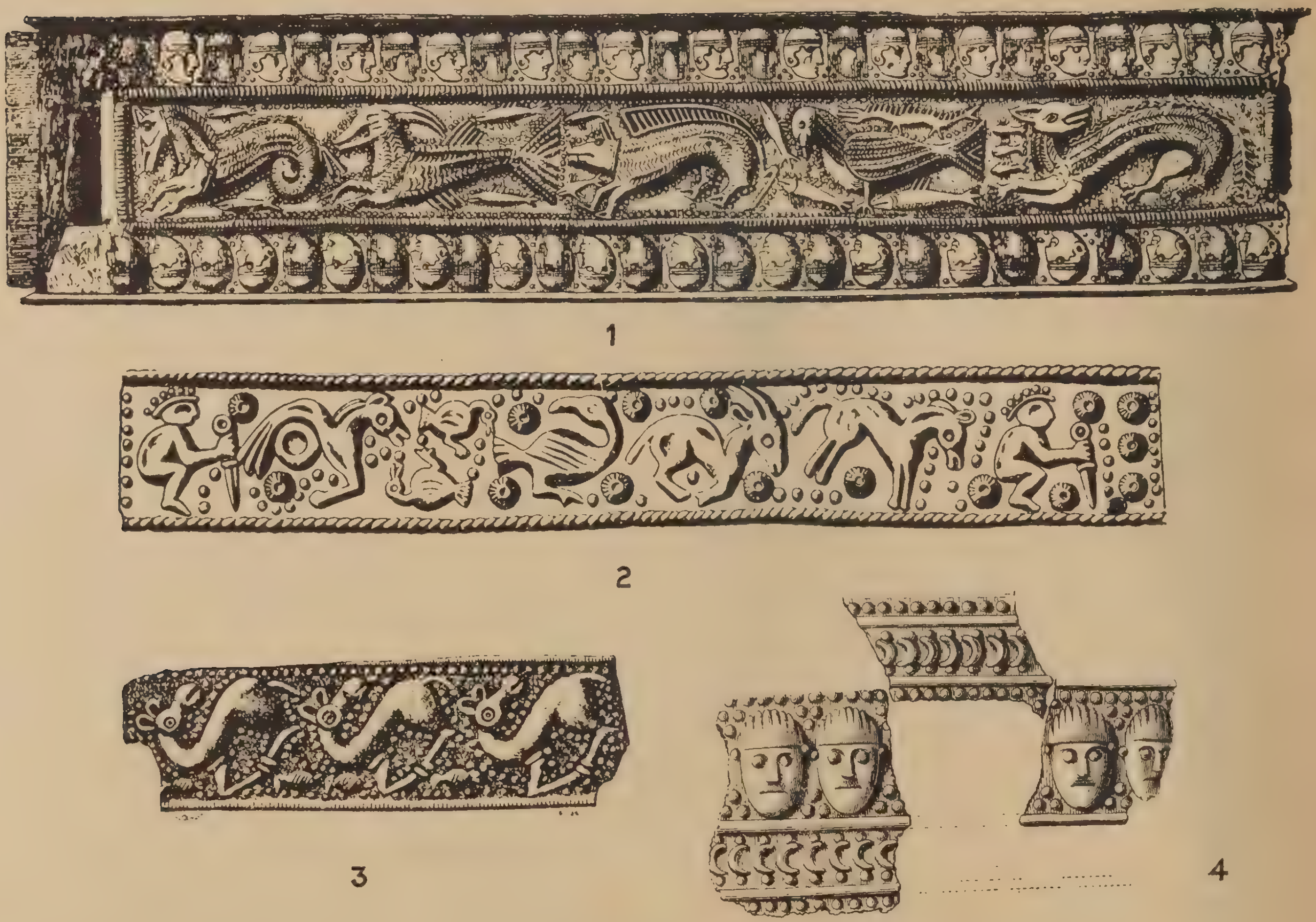


FIG. 12. Decorative friezes on Scandinavian metalwork of the third and fourth centuries A.D.
1, belt-strip from Thorsbjerg ($\frac{2}{3}$) (after Engelhardt (1863), pl. 11, 47);
2, part of frieze from one of the Himlingøje silver beakers ($\frac{1}{1}$) (after Werner (1941), fig. 6, 3);
3, beaker fragment from Lilla Jøred ($\frac{1}{1}$) (after Salin (1904), fig. 442);
4, beaker fragment from Brokjaer ($\frac{1}{1}$) (after *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndhighed og Historie* (1881), p. 110, fig. 2).

---

[1] Shetelig (1949), fig. 4.

possible to see most clearly how far the imported examples have aroused the creative instincts of the northern craftsmen. On the first phalera from Thorsbjerg the original frieze has been overlaid with riveted silver plaques in the shape of animal figures, on the second there is a complete frieze of running animals. On both they are the simpler and more naïve work of a local Germanic artist repairing or 'improving' the imported original. These are held to be the first known examples of the adoption of full zoomorphic ornament in northern Germanic art, and Werner has argued very convincingly that they were produced by the craftsman who made the silver beakers from the chieftains' graves on the island of Sjaelland.[1] These beakers, from Himlingøje, Valløby, and Nordrup, have an embossed gold frieze beneath the rim which in each case carried an arrangement of animals. The most usual design is a regular procession of back-turned beasts, but the Himlingøje pair have a mixed frieze which incorporates human figures and masks (fig. 12, 2). These beakers come from the same cemeteries and, in some cases, the same graves as those which produced the imported *terra sigillata*, glass, and bronzes, whose animal friezes may well have provided the initial inspiration for those on the beakers. The pronounced stylization of the animal figures, and the strong tendency towards a purely ornamental treatment of the whole design, suggest that the transforming powers of the Germanic imagination were already at work as early as the third century. The beaker fragment from Lilla Jøred (fig. 12, 3)[2] is thought by Werner to show a continuity of the style into the early fourth century. The examples of this early Germanic style are not numerous, but surviving pieces suggest that the full-faced human mask also played some part in it. Those on the Himlingøje beakers have already been referred to, but even more interesting is a fragment of a complete frieze of masks, apparently once part of a repoussé strip from a beaker, found at Brokjaer, Ribe Amt, Jutland (fig. 12, 4).[3]

Brief though it is, this summary should indicate in which direction we must look for the origin of the Jutish Style A. South Scandinavia, and in particular Schleswig and Sjaelland, provide good evidence not only of the import of classical craftwork from the Danube and the Rhineland but also of its imitation and adaptation by northern Germanic metalworkers. This is the region where we may expect to find a surviving and yet subtly changing Roman art tradition in the hands of Germanic craftsmen, which will give us the continuity of development which is lacking in England. The strength of the classical and late Roman influences on early Scandinavian art has been well argued by Shetelig,[4] who, with the animal friezes of the beakers in mind, notes that: 'The motives from this series of animals must have been intimately assimilated into Scandinavian handicraft as they became a lasting element in the animal patterns of the following time. Brøndsted has rightly emphasised that this group of works of art is the first step in the creation of the Scandinavian style of the Migration period. . . .' This is probably correct, but the scarcity of finds from the fourth and fifth centuries in Scandinavia makes it difficult to trace the complete evolution with any exactness. Holmquist has uttered the timely warning that 'at present we have no basis for establishing direct connexion between the style at this stage and the further development, when animal ornament burst into full bloom. Probably, however, its development was considerably more homogeneous and continuous than the material preserved appears to indicate. The mere fact that the later style also drew its inspiration in the main from Roman sources supports this view.'[1] From our point of view too, it is a pity that the position is not clearer, for while we have seen that the third-century style in Scandinavia contains the majority of the basic elements of the Jutish Style A, it is certain that they were not adopted into English art for another two centuries. The transmission of these elements into fifth-century Scandinavian art is therefore of primary importance to us, for it is here at this time, if anywhere, that we may expect to find the background and inspiration of the English style. Happily the expectation is largely justified, for even the briefest of glances at the surviving examples of fifth-century Scandinavian metalwork, and that is all that is possible here, reveals many features which occur in the Jutish Style A.

---

[1] Werner (1941), pp. 44 ff., pls. XX and XXII, figs. 6 and 12*a*; Shetelig (1949), figs. 6 and 8; Forssänder (1937), figs. 13–15.

[2] Salin (1904), fig. 442; Werner (1941), fig. 16; Shetelig (1949), fig. 7; Fornvännen (1951), p. 42, fig. 9.

[3] *Aarboger for Nordisk Oldkyndhiged og Historie* (1881), p. 110, fig. 2.

[4] Shetelig (1949), p. 28.

Recent studies have demonstrated that the earliest of the fifth-century styles is that which appears on a hoard of ornamental metalwork from Sösdala, Scania.[2] The hoard is characterized by objects executed in sheet silver ornamented by stamped patterns and low chip-carving, and ironwork which bears wire inlay. From our point of view one of the most interesting features is the occurrence on some of the objects of projecting horse-heads[3] (pl. XXI, *b*), remarkably similar to those on the Chessell Down strap-end and the High Down belt-slide. The late Roman origin of the style is attested by finds of similar metalwork from sites on the Rhine and Danube frontiers.[4] The Sösdala style probably belongs to the early years of the fifth century, and the majority of the so-called 'plate' brooches are more or less contemporary with it. Some of these are ornamented with simple animal figures which are Germanic versions of late Roman forms, among them being the brooches from Roligheten, Hedrum, Vestfold[5] and Foss, Lyngdal, Vest Agder[6] with their dolphin figures, and the brooch from Meilby, Jutland[7] (pl. XIX, *d*) with its hippocamp. This last piece is now broken but is particularly interesting since it is likely that there were originally two symmetrically confronted hippocamps which were first cast and then riveted into place on the headplate. This technique of riveting relief features on to a flat surface appears again, notably on scabbard mounts from Veien, Norderhov, Buskerud, Norway,[8] and provides us with a possible point of departure for the similar method used with the more elaborate free-standing doves on the Kentish quoit brooches.

The next phase of development, according to the recent review of the subject published by Olfert Voss (1955), is to be seen on the second find from Nydam in Schleswig and is characterized by the subordination of the stamped decoration to more luxuriant chip-carved spiral patterns. This style is also the outcome of influences from late Roman provincial art, notably from the now familiar chip-carved buckles and belt-fittings. The animal figures that now begin to appear in Scandinavian metalwork seem to be derived from the marginal animals of the late Roman buckles. The most famous of the sword-fittings from the group[1] is decorated with paired creatures with curled bodies, which are sometimes compared with those on the fittings in the Warrior Grave at Vermand, and with early representations of the 'helmeted' human form. The curled creature appears to be a common feature of this style phase, as it is of the Jutish Style A. Scabbard mouth-pieces from the Nydam find are decorated in a variety of dense, all-over, geometric chip-carved patterns, some of which bear a close resemblance to the geometric design on the Petersburg helmet. This mosaic style of chip-carving is not at all common at this period, and it is therefore very interesting to see it occurring in late fifth-century Kent on the cross-patterned Howletts belt-plate (pl. XVII, *c*).[2]

---

[1] Holmquist (1955), p. 14.

[2] Forssänder (1936), pp. 183 ff., figs. 1–3; Voss (1954), pp. 172 ff.; Norberg (1931), pp. 104 ff.

[3] Norberg (1931), fig. 5; Forssänder (1936), fig. 1.

[4] Mainz (*Bonner Jahrb.*, cxlvii (1942), pp. 265 ff., fig. 6); Untersiebenbrunn, nr. Vienna (Forssänder (1937), pp. 34 ff., fig. 17), etc.

[5] Hougen (1936), pl. VII; Åberg (1924), fig. 36.

[6] Åberg (1924), fig. 37; Hougen (1936), pl. XV.

[7] Salin (1904), fig. 489; Åberg (1924), fig. 17.

[8] Hougen (1936), pls. I–III.

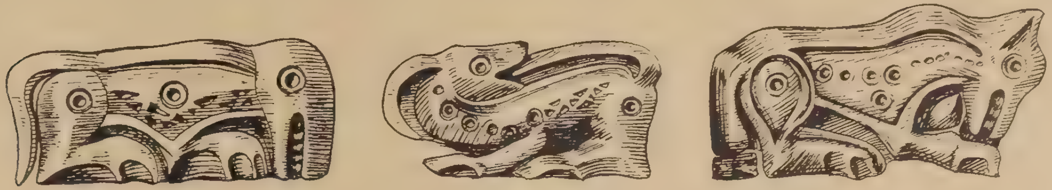


FIG. 13. Details of the animal figures on the relief brooch from Nordheim, Hedrum parish, Vestfold, Norway (see pl. XVIII, *a*).

According to Voss, the earliest examples of the 'relief' brooch are also contemporary with the Nydam find or, in certain cases, perhaps slightly later. They occur, therefore, predominantly in the later half of the fifth century; the date accorded them by Åberg,[3] Hougen[4] and others. On these brooches we have the beginning of a so-called 'pre-Style-I' animal ornament, which is thus, in point of time, the counterpart of the Jutish Style A. One of the most interesting of these early relief brooches is that from Nordheim, Hedrum, Vestfold (pl. XIX, *a*), which is decorated with pairs of confronted animals (fig. 13), one pair back-turned with tails in mouths.[5] The bodies have a 'fur pattern' of punched dots, a hint of the 'frame', or double outline, of the Jutish Style A animals, and the beginnings of the development of the pear-shaped compartments on shoulder and hip which are one of the hallmarks of mature Style I. Comparison makes it clear that the animal style of this relief brooch is more or less at the same stage of development as some examples of the Jutish Style A. Such paired animals, confronted, or placed back-to-back, are common enough on Scandinavian metalwork of this period and a little later. The equal-armed brooch from Holmgaard bog,[1] Denmark (pl. XIX, *c*), is decorated with a particularly fine example of the style, and slightly later versions occur on the headplates of brooches from Langlo, Vestfold, Norway,[2] and Agerskov, Jutland.[3] (The latter brooch has been discussed at length elsewhere as evidence of Danish-Kentish contacts in the region of the year 500.[4]) An even later version of the same motive may be seen on filigree sword-fittings from Skurup and Mellby, Sweden.[5]

---

[1] Forssänder (1937), fig. 6; Holmquist (1955), pl. IV, 9.

[2] This enigmatical piece with its design of interlocking crosses is unique in early pagan Saxon art, although its mosaic design would be at home in the late sixth or seventh century, as more sophisticated but similar designs on the Northumbrian school of manuscripts suggest. Such a late date is entirely out of the question, however, as the accompanying grave goods testify (see p. 38). Late Roman art has little to offer by way of comparison, except for a few openwork buckle plates with cross patterns (e.g. Deanery Fields, Chester, *Liverpool Annals*, xviii, p. 133, no. 31, pl. XIX, 1). In general appearance the ornament of the Howletts plate is nearer to that on some of the scabbard mounts from the Nydam Find. In Holmquist (1939) we find a suggestion that this type of mosaic pattern may well have been derived from an Eastern source, Syria perhaps. Certainly at this period very similar cross designs occur in Coptic art (cf. O. Wulff (1909), p. 86, no. 260).

[3] Åberg (1924), pp. 10 ff.

[4] Hougen (1936), pp. 17 ff.

[5] *Ibid.* pl. IX, *a–c*; Åberg (1924), fig. 38; Salin (1904), fig. 534.

Even more interesting than the Nordheim brooch is another contemporary relief brooch from Hol, Inderøy, Nord Trøndelag, Norway[6] (pl. XIX, *b*). This strange brooch, from a strange grave-group, has for a long time excited much interest and speculation. Around its headplate is a continuous frieze of eleven back-turned, ribbon-like animals, placed nose to tail. They show a general resemblance to the animal friezes of the Sarre brooch, as Holmquist has already pointed out,[7] but they are even more reminiscent of those on the inner ring of the Howletts (no. 2) quoit brooch. On the footplate, among a confused jumble of animal figures, there is one which has a marked family likeness to the hounds on the outer zone of the same Howletts brooch. The Hol relief brooch has no exact parallel, and its presence on the west coast of Norway is sufficiently puzzling to have led Hougen to suggest a south Scandinavian origin for the whole find.[8] It should perhaps be noted here that the apparent prominence of Norway in the distribution-density of fifth-century Scandinavian finds is misleading. The high incidence of rich gold hoards in Denmark and south Sweden suggests that these were the richer areas at this period, but the almost complete absence of contemporary inhumation burials has resulted in the non-preservation of much material which normally survived only as grave goods. Thus the crucial area of Scandinavia from our point of view is poorly represented by brooch types and personal ornaments: only those valuable enough to be placed in the hoards, or the occasional stray finds, having come down to us. In Norway, on the other hand, inhumation burial was more common, and consequently a far higher proportion of this type of object has been found. This has meant that perhaps an undue amount of attention has to be paid to an area which undoubtedly lay outside the main sphere of contact between Anglo-Saxon England and the north. In spite of all this, however, there is enough material from South Scandinavia to answer our purpose.

On the famous C bracteate from Lyngby[9] (pl. XX, *b*) there is an outer frieze of couchant animals and an inner frieze of profile masks. A similar frieze of masks occurs on another bracteate from Sandegaard, Bornholm,[10] while little groups of full-face masks are placed on the mounting of one or two C bracteates, such as those from Dödevi, Öland,[11] and Gerete, Gotland[12] (pl. XX, *c*). These bracteates probably date from the end of the fifth century, and to about the same period must be attributed one of the splendid gold collars from Sweden. On the Alleberg collar[1] (pl. xx, *a*) there are friezes of back-turned and couchant animals executed in filigree and interspersed with full-face masks. The animals have pronounced thigh and shoulder compartments and a 'fur' pattern of filigree spots. The rather later Mone collar[2] has similar decoration.

---

[1] *Acta Archaeol.* viii (1937), pp. 331–3; Mackeprang (1952), pl. XXII, 6.

[2] Hougen (1936), pl. XIX; Åberg (1924), fig. 61.

[3] Mackeprang (1952), pl. XXII, 4.

[4] Leeds and Chadwick (1957), p. 9, pl. I, *b*; Chadwick (1958)^{1}, p. 55, pl. X, *d*; Chadwick (1958)^{2}, p. 50 f., pl. V, B.

[5] Holmquist (1955), pl. XI.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. XII, 30; Hougen (1936), pl. X; Åberg (1924), fig. 39.

[7] Holmquist (1955), p. 25.

[8] Hougen (1936), pp. 18–20.

[9] Mackeprang (1952), pl. X, 15; Ôberg (1942), fig. 25.

[10] Mackeprang (1952), pl. XXI, 1; Ôberg (1942), p. 42.

[11] Mackeprang (1951), pl. XI, 12.

[12] *Ibid.* pl. XII, 6; Ôberg (1942), p. 39, fig. 17.

Masks between confronted animals appear on the late fifth- and early sixth-century relief brooches also; for example, on the headplates of the Galsted, Schleswig,[3] and Scania brooches;[4] at the foot of the Langlo[5] and Vedstrup brooches.[6] Many more examples could be cited, but these should be sufficient for our purpose.

The time has now come to call a halt to the search for parallels. It should by now be clear that fifth- and early sixth-century metalworkers in south Scandinavia were employing in their repertory the majority of the decorative elements which we have seen to be features of the Jutish Style A. Common to both are the horse-head terminals; pre-Style I animal figures with 'fur' pattern, in couchant or back-turned position and in symmetrical arrangements of confronted pairs or continuous friezes; masks, in friezes, alone, interspersed with animals, or between pairs of animals; and the techniques of repoussé, chip-carving, stamping, and gilding. Although the evidence is scanty, there is good reason to believe that this fifth-century style in Scandinavia is the product of an unbroken continuity of native metalcraft stemming directly from imported Roman models introduced from the third century onwards. This is the kind of background which is lacking in England, and in view of this it is now evident that we must look to the north for the origin of the Jutish Style A. Some confirmation is lent to this view by the fact that, outside England, the only examples of the technique of silver-sheet inlay so far identified have been found in Scandinavia, on cruciform brooches from Staurnes, Borgund and Indre Bö[7] in western Norway.

The principal ingredients of the Jutish Style A, therefore, already partially formulated by long tradition, were in some way brought to Kent and Sussex in the second part of the fifth century from some area of south Scandinavia, the most likely candidate on historical grounds being the Jutland peninsula. Among Scandinavian archaeologists, this is not a new idea. Something of the sort was hinted at by Shetelig in 1927[8] and recently Holmquist has glanced briefly at 'the earliest Anglo-Saxon animal ornamentation'[9] in the following words: 'The Roman-inspired Scandinavian repoussé industry produced . . . just such animal friezes as we meet with here. . . . Since there can hardly be any doubt that the Scandinavian material in this case is older than the Anglo-Saxon, and since we have no direct west-continental prototypes, it seems only reasonable to assume a certain amount of Scandinavian influence.' This is such a simple and acceptable solution to what has been a very vexed question that it seems strange that so far it has not found favour in England. The answer is perhaps that

---

[1] Holmquist (1955), pl. ix, 23; Shetelig (1949), figs. 25–26.

[2] Holmquist (1955), pl. viii, 21.

[3] Mackeprang (1952), pl. xxii, 2; Forssänder (1937), fig. 4, 6.

[4] Åberg (1924), fig. 52.

[5] Hougen (1936), pl. xix; Åberg (1924), fig. 61.

[6] Åberg (1924), fig. 60; Salin (1904), fig. 519; Leeds (1949), pl. S6.

[7] Holmquist (1951), fig. 45.

[8] Shetelig (1927), p. 113.

[9] Holmquist (1955), pp. 24–25.

Anglo-Saxon archaeology was for a very long time dominated almost completely by the personality and thought of the late E. T. Leeds, and that consequently many real problems of the early period in Kent and the south of England were too easily tidied away under the labels 'British' or 'Frankish'. It was only comparatively recently that Leeds began seriously to reconsider his Frankish theory, and to isolate objects and trends which could be classified under the new heading 'Danish'. He first considered the bracteates[1] and then, more recently, a group of early square-headed brooches from Kent and adjoining areas.[2] As a result of further research on these lines it is now more than ever clear that in the early sixth century Kent was the recipient of influences from Denmark, which brought in not only the bracteates, but also a distinctive phase of Style I animal ornament, which I have elsewhere called the Jutish Style B.[3] It is in the light of this that we must see the arrival of the impetus for the even earlier animal style which we are considering here. The Jutish Style A must be seen as yet another proof of the existence of an early link between Kent and south Scandinavia.

The exact nature of this connexion is a trifle ambiguous. One good reason why the Jutish Style A was not recognized as being northern in origin is that the Scandinavian parallels are not identically the same. Although the *raison d'être* of the style as well as most of its individual elements must be traced to a Scandinavian source, the end-product which emerged from the Kentish workshop is unique. There is nothing quite like it anywhere else, and its ultimate northern origin must not be allowed to obscure its undeniable individuality. The standard of the craftsmanship, too, is of rare quality, and that masterpiece, the Sarre quoit brooch, excels even the best contemporary Scandinavian work. The flowering of so mature and polished a style so soon after the troubled years of the settlement must remain a cause for wonder. It must, as we have seen, be largely attributed to the skill of one craftsman; a man probably attached to the household of the ruler of Kent. The possibility that this man may have come from the Jutland peninsula is not out of keeping with the view that the leaders of the Kentish settlers were themselves 'Jutes', and migrants from some such area. It is dangerous to generalize further. The work of a single workshop cannot be taken as an indication of the racial origins of the Kentish people. It can merely suggest that there was in the richer circles of Kentish society at this time a taste for the northern style of ornament; a taste still current in the period of the D bracteates and the Jutish Style B. We must not forget, however, that more or less contemporary with this pro-Danish phase and apparently in the same circles, there was an active interest in the fashions of the western continent. As we have seen already, the wire-inlaid buckles and imported buckets testify to some form of contact, in the late fifth and early sixth centuries, with the Frankish settlements of Belgium, France, and Germany. Something of this duality in southern English culture at this time is to be seen in the Jutish Style A itself. The heritage of northern animal art is there, but in so distinctive a form that it has become a parallel, rather than a dependent, development of the Scandinavian tradition. Further, the most characteristic invention of the Germanic north, namely the square-headed brooch form, was for some reason not taken over as a vehicle for this style, and the objects on which the Jutish Style A was used are partly of western Teutonic type, partly a new interpretation of British and late Roman forms. The Jutish Style A thus presents a synthesis of a variety of traditions. The result is the earliest demonstration of the freshness and vitality of Anglo-Saxon animal art and the beginnings of a vigorous, inventive, independent growth which was later to animate mature Anglo-Saxon Styles I and II.

---

[1] Leeds (1946).

[2] Leeds (1953); Leeds and Chadwick (1957).

[3] Chadwick (1958)², pp. 50 ff.

THE JUTISH STYLE A IN RELATION TO ANGLO-SAXON STYLE I

When speaking of the Sarre quoit brooch E. T. Leeds remarked in passing that 'the treatment of the feet (of the animals) is more reminiscent of an initial stage of Germanic Style I',[1] and we can now see that an initial stage of Style I is exactly what the Jutish Style A is. The extent of its influence on the later style, however, is not easy to define, and the reason for this difficulty lies in the complex process which gave birth to Style I. In writing about zoomorphic ornament too many writers give the impression that there is some logical evolutionary system at work producing a coherent growth and decline, instead of merely a number of workshops, widely scattered and differing in artistic and technical standards, producing their own versions of a current fashion, without necessarily maintaining any direct contact with each other. There are as many faces to Style I as there were workshops producing it, and many of these local variations appear to have had little influence either on contemporary or subsequent trends.

Under these circumstances it would hardly be surprising to find the Jutish Style A in a state of isolation. The fact that this is not altogether so strongly suggests that this first Kentish animal style had some wider repercussions on the artistic consciousness of the age. Apart from direct imitations such as the Bidford-on-Avon bucket mounts and perhaps the Brighthampton sword, certain examples of Style I give the impression of being descended from the Jutish Style A. Foremost among these are the occasional instances of animal figures with solid-looking bodies which have a pronounced angle between back and shoulder. Examples of this can be seen on the three identical square-headed brooches from Milton-next-Sittingbourne, Kent,[2] and another from an unknown location in Suffolk.[3] As Åberg has remarked,[4] angularly bent animals are a characteristic of Style I, and although the most exaggerated development was conditioned by the use of the animal figure as a corner device for rectangular panels, there can be no denying that the embryonic form of the feature appears on the Sarre quoit brooch and the Alfriston belt-plates, long before any such development had taken place. Then the detached leg which floats in air behind the rump of many Style I animals may, as Leeds has already suggested, be a memory of the upcurled tails of the Jutish Style A beasts.[5] The back-turned beast does not generally feature in Style I, but there is one such creature on an unpublished brooch which probably came from Bifrons[6] (pl. XXI, *c*). This, with its organically coherent body, its curled tail, and frond-like feet, is at present the nearest we have to a direct descendant from the animals of our style. The fact that the brooch on which it occurs is of the small-square-headed type, which can hardly be dated before the second quarter of the sixth century, suggests that the Jutish Style A was still known to the Bifrons people at this date. The vast majority of the Style I animals have a 'helmeted' head, but rare exceptions like the processional animals on one saucer brooch from Long Wittenham,[1] which have squared muzzles and pronounced ears, may again be the result of influences from the earlier type. It is possible, too, as Leeds observed,[2] that the type of beast on the Bifrons pendants, or the outer zone of the Howletts (no. 3) quoit brooch, generated a form of Style I animal with an amphibian's tail. A good example can be seen on a small, Kentish-made buckle-plate from Mitchell's Hill, Icklingham[3] (pl. XXI,*g*). It is in the matter of the frond-like treatment of the feet, however, that the Jutish Style A is most nearly related to the fully developed examples of our Style I. This feature, first seen on the Sarre and Howletts (no. 2) quoit brooches and the Bifrons strap-end, is almost universally employed in Style I,[4] and the upcurling of the feet, of the Sarre and Bifrons animals, is likewise a very normal ingredient of it. It may also be significant that on the buckle-plates, and on the saucer and square-headed brooches, the most usual combinations of Style I animals are the familiar friezes and confronted pairs which we have already seen in the Jutish Style A.

---

[1] Leeds (1936), p. 5.

[2] Åberg (1926), fig. 127; Leeds (1949), pl. S3.

[3] Leeds (1949), pl. A/3, 13; Åberg (1926), fig. 123.

[4] Åberg (1926), p. 168.

[5] Leeds (1949), p. 111.

[6] Deal Town Hall. From a grave discovered in 1913 between Bridge and Bekesbourne.

Whatever the exact relationship between the two styles, it should be clear by now that the Jutish Style A stands at the beginning of the development of Germanic zoomorphic ornament in England. The animals are still comparatively naturalistic, but the absorption in purely ornamental pattern making, and the growing stylization of the individual figures, already leading to a tendency towards the dissolution of the organic whole, testifies to the early development of Style I trends in southern England.

With regard to Style II, there is less evidence. Kendrick was of the opinion that the fifth-century animal style was the originator of Anglo-Saxon Style II,[5] and tried to prove the connexion by an elaborate series of line drawings.[6] The subject of Style II is too complicated for discussion here, and it must suffice to say that Kendrick's arguments did not allow for a seventh-century date, or the possibility of its being the result of a variety of northern, western, and southern influences. His case is far from convincing, and there are far too many gaps in important places in the line of development as he saw it, to prove any tangible relationship.

Finally, a word must be said about other examples of so-called 'naturalistic' animal-figure decoration which have sometimes been bracketed with the Jutish Style A. The most important of these occur on a circular brooch from St. John's Cricket Field, Cambridge[7] (pl. XXI,*h*). The front-plate of this brooch is executed in repoussé silver and bears a frieze of five running boars, with clearly marked eyes and teeth, and a form of herringbone pattern for the manes. The centre of the piece seems once to have been embellished by a circular stone setting, and this was bordered by a band of plait design. The brooch is a complete oddity, standing alone in Anglo-Saxon craftwork. If there is any relationship between it and the Jutish Style A objects, it is a distant one, despite certain features in common. No true example of Jutish Style A work has so far been found in the East Midlands, although one must bear in mind the large number of Kentish exports which found their way into this region in the sixth and seventh centuries.[1] On the other hand, there does seem to be an undercurrent of semi-naturalistic tradition underlying the more sophisticated animal styles of this region, for a sword from the River Lark bears a simple stamped boar-figure on the blade, and certain pots from Lackford,[2] Caistor-by-Norwich (pl. XXI, *i*) and Markshall[3] are decorated with stamped animal figures, of simple type. Some of these semi-naturalistic quadrupeds very strongly recall the rather more polished beasts of the Jutish Style A. They are again combined with interlacing, with the addition of stamped swastikas. There is no sure dating evidence for these pots, and they may be as late as the early seventh century. The late sixth and seventh centuries have produced other examples of somewhat crude, organic, animal forms, such as that on the square-headed brooch from Ragley Park, Warwickshire,[4] and although in some ways enigmatical, it is clear that these few scattered examples represent some form of semi-naturalistic tradition in an art world otherwise dominated by Styles I and II. None of them has any real bearing on the Jutish Style A, either in time, technique, or style.

---

[1] Åberg (1926), fig. 23; *Archaeologia*, xxviii (1890), pl. XIX, 4.

[2] Leeds (1949), p. 111.

[3] Bury St. Edmunds Museum.

[4] Åberg (1926), figs. 25, 124, 305, and 306.

[5] Kendrick (1938), pp. 81–83.

[6] *Ibid.* fig. 17.

[7] Åberg (1926), p. 163, fig. 303; Brown (1915), iii, pl. v, 11; Holmquist (1951), fig. 26, 2.

SUMMARY

The Jutish Style A is a southern English development dating from the late fifth and early sixth centuries. The finest examples can be attributed to the work of a single workshop which appears to have operated in the region of Canterbury in Kent. Some of its work travelled into Sussex and influenced local workshops there, and repercussions from both were felt farther afield in Surrey and the Thames Valley. The chief characteristics of the style are the use of the techniques of silver-sheet inlay on bronze, carving and chasing on silver, and the evolution of the first Germanic animal decoration in England. The animal ornament consists of confronted pairs, and continuous friezes, of symmetrically repeating figures, each of which is characterized by a double contour enclosing a panel of 'fur' pattern. The origins of this animal style appear to have been in south Scandinavia in the fifth century; a region where Germanic craftsmen had assimilated and transmuted ideas derived from the provincial Roman and Germanic craftwork of the Rhine and Danube regions. The Jutish Style A is thus indicative of some form of contact between Kent and south Scandinavia in the second half of the fifth century. It is also the earliest expression of Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic ornament and the precursor of mature Style I in England.

The case set out by Leeds in 1936 is therefore no longer tenable. Whereas these objects were previously held to be made by sub-Romano-British craftsmen in the period before A.D. 450, it can now be seen that they were in fact made during the succeeding half century by Germanic metalworkers, for the Anglo-Saxon overlords of Kent and Sussex.

---

[1] Leeds (1945), pp. 61 ff., figs. 35 and 36.

[2] Lethbridge (1951), figs. 8 and 31.

[3] Norwich Castle Museum.

[4] Leeds (1949), pl. B5, no. 93.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper was begun, and in its main outlines completed, during 1955/6. It was originally part of a post-graduate thesis, and the travelling and photography involved were made possible by a grant from the University of London Central Research Fund.

I am much indebted to the staff and governing bodies of the following museums for allowing me to study and illustrate objects in their collections: The British Museum, London; the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge; the Museum and Art Gallery, Maidstone, Kent; the Museum and Art Gallery, Worthing, Sussex; the Museum of the Sussex Archaeological Society, Lewes; the Museum, Guildford, Surrey; the County Museum, Aylesbury, Bucks.; and the Moyses Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. I am particularly grateful to Mr. J. C. Taylor, Curator of the Eastgate House Museum, Rochester, Kent, for the loan of the Higham disc brooch, for study and photography in London.

Pls. XIV, XV, *a–c*, XVI, *b* and XVII *a*, *c* are produced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum; and of these pls. XV, *c* and XVI, *b* appear with the permission of the Kent Archaeological Society who hold the negatives; pls. XVII, *d*, and XXI *a*, *d*, *e* are by permission of the Ashmolean Museum, pl. XXI, *h* of the University Museum, Cambridge, pl. XVII, *b* of the Worthing Museum, pl. XXI, *i* of the Norwich Castle Museum, and pl. XXI, *c* of the Ministry of Works, London. For the photographs of Continental material I have to thank: The Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo, for pl. XIX, *a* and *b*; the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen, for pls. XIX *c*, *d* and XX, *b*; and the Antikvarisk-Topografiska Arkivei, Stockholm, for pl. XX, *a*, *c*. The remaining photographs were processed at the University of London Institute of Archaeology, and I am grateful to Mr. M. B. Cookson for the use of his studio.

The drawing fig. 1 is by Mr. C. O. Waterhouse, M.B.E., and appears by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. It supersedes his drawing of the same object in Smith (1923), fig. 38.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to a number of individuals without whose help and encouragement this paper could never have been completed: to Mr. D. M. Wilson, of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum, for helpful discussion and for allowing me such free access to the departmental collections; and to Mr. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, British Museum, and to my husband, Professor C. F. C. Hawkes, University of Oxford, both of whom read the manuscript in its various stages and gave much advice and help in a multitude of ways.

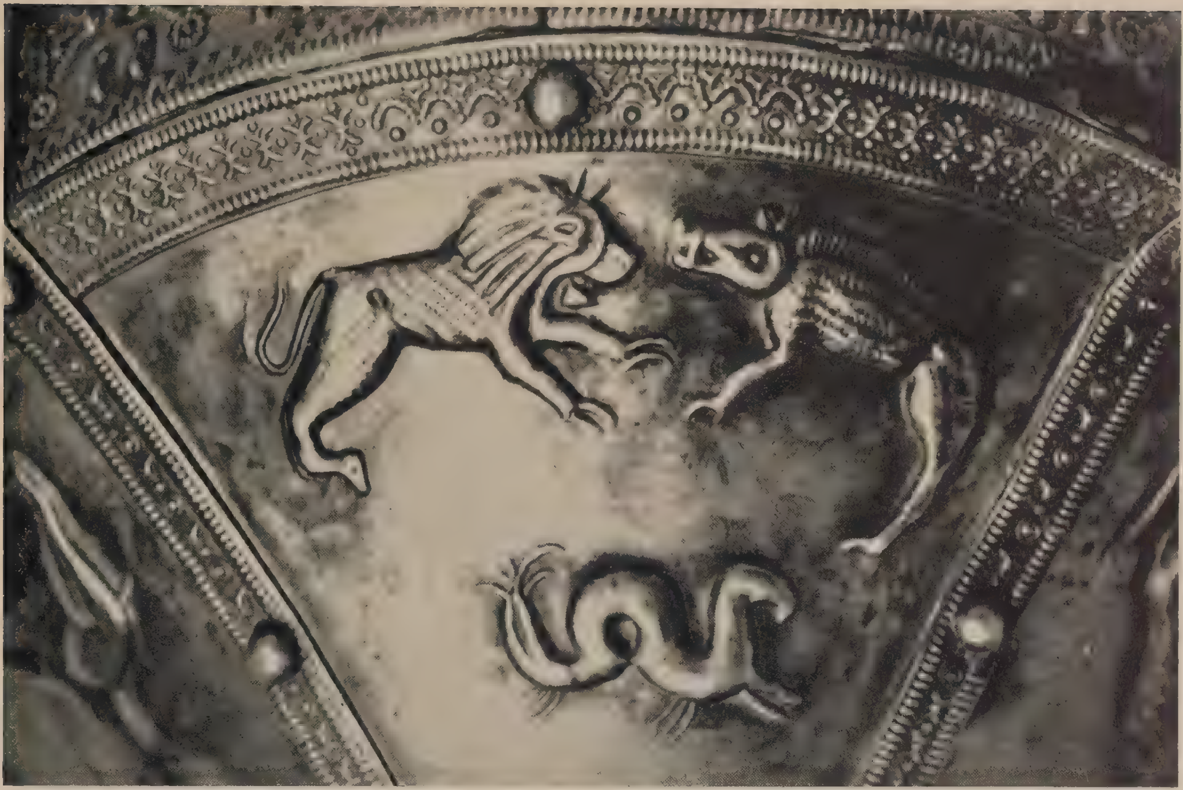
POSTSCRIPT

Since this paper was received for publication, there has appeared in a monograph by Egil Bakka, *On the Beginnings of Salin's Style I in England* (Universitetets i Bergen Årbok, 1958, Historisk-antikvarisk Rekke, nr. 3), a brief account, under the title of 'The Quoit-Brooch Style', of the metalwork under discussion here. It has not been possible to take it into consideration in this paper.

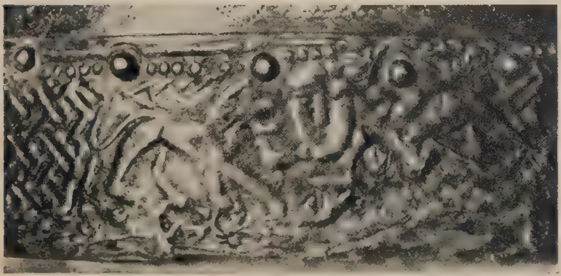
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Åberg (1924)	N. Åberg, *Den Nordiska Folkvandringstidens Kronologi* (1924).
—— (1926)	N. Åberg, *The Anglo-Saxons in England* (1926).
Alföldi (1934)	A. Alföldi, 'Eine spätrömische Helmform und ihre Schicksale im Germanische-Romanischen Mittelalter', *Acta Archaeologica* (1934).
Behrens (1930)	G. Behrens, 'Spätrömische Kerbschnittschnallen', *Schumacher Festschrift* (1930), 286 ff.
Böhner (1959)	K. Böhner, *Das Grab eines fränkischen Herren aus Morken im Rheinland* (Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, 1959).
Brailsford (1951)	J. Brailsford, *Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* (British Museum, 1951).
—— (1955)	J. Brailsford, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (British Museum Handbook, 2nd ed. 1955).
Breuer and Roosens (1957)	J. Breuer and H. Roosens, *Le Cimetière Franc de Haillot* (*Archaeologica Belgica*, xxxiv, 1957).
Brown (1910)	G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts and Crafts of our Teutonic Forefathers* (1910).
—— (1915)	G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England* (1915).
Bruce-Mitford (1947)	R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial: a provisional guide* (British Museum, 1947).
Chadwick (1958)[1]	Sonia Chadwick, 'Note on an early Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooch from Canterbury', *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxviii (1958), 52 ff.
—— (1958)[2]	Sonia Chadwick, 'The Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Finglesham, Kent: a reconsideration', *Medieval Archaeology*, ii (1958), 1–71.
Cochet (1854)	J. B. D. Cochet, *La Normandie souterraine* (1854).
Curle (1923)	A. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain* (1923).
Dasnoy (1954)	A. Dasnoy, 'Les Premières Damasquinures mérovingiennes de la région namuroise', *Annales Société Archéologique de Namur*, xlvii (1954), 267 ff.
Douglas (1793)	J. Douglas, *Nenia Britannica* (1793).
Eck (1891)	T. Eck, *Les deux cimetières gallo-romains de Vermand et St. Quentin* (1891).
Englehardt (1863)	C. Engelhardt, *Thorsbjerg Mosefund* (1863).
Evison (1955)	Vera Evison, 'Early Anglo-Saxon inlaid metalwork', *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxv (1955), 20 ff.
—— (1958)	Vera Evison, 'Further Anglo-Saxon inlay', *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxviii (1958), 240 ff.
Fettich (1930)	N. Fettich, 'Der Schildbuckel von Herpály', *Acta Archaeologica*, I (1930).
—— (1932)	N. Fettich, 'Der zweite Schatz von Szilágy Somlyó', *Acta Archaeologica Musei Nationalis Hungarici*, viii (1932).
Forssänder (1937)	J. Forssänder, 'Provinzialrömisches und Germanisches', *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum*, vii (1937).
Hawkes (1956)	C. F. C. Hawkes, 'The Jutes of Kent', *Dark Age Britain: Studies presented to E. T. Leeds*, (1956), 91 ff.
Henning (1907)	R. Henning, *Der Helm von Baldenheim und die verwandten Helme des frühen Mittelalters* (1907)
Henry (1936)	Françoise Henry, 'Hanging Bowls', *Journal Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, lxvi pt. ii (1936), 209 ff.
—— (1956)	Françoise Henry, 'Irish enamels of the Dark Ages and their relation to the cloisonné techniques', *Dark Age Britain: Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (1956), 71 ff.
Hillier (1856)	G. Hillier, *The History and Antiquities of the Isle of Wight* (1856).
Holmquist (1951)	W. Holmquist, *Tauschierte Metallarbeiten des Nordens* (1951).
—— (1955)	W. Holmquist, *Germanic Art in the 1st Millennium A.D.* (1955).
Hougen (1936)	B. Hougen, *The Migration Style in Norway* (1936).
Kendrick (1932)	T. D. Kendrick, 'British Hanging Bowls', *Antiquity*, vi (1932), 161 ff.
—— (1933)	T. D. Kendrick, 'Polychrome Jewellery in Kent', *Antiquity*, vii (1933), 429 ff.
—— (1934)	T. D. Kendrick, 'Style in early Anglo-Saxon Ornament', *I.P.E.K.* (1934), 66–76.
—— (1938)	T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938).

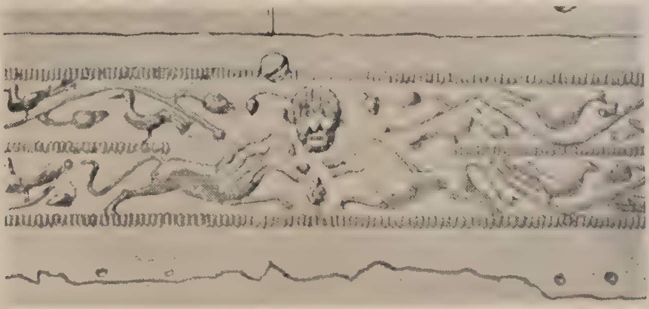
Kirk and Leeds (1953)	J. R. Kirk and E. T. Leeds, 'Three early Saxon graves from Dorchester, Oxon.', *Oxoniensia*, xvii–xviii (1953), 63 ff.
Kühn (1940)	H. Kühn, *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit in der Rheinprovinz* (1940).
Leeds (1913)	E. T. Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (1913).
—— (1936)	E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (1936).
—— (1945)	E. T. Leeds, 'The distribution of the Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered', *Archaeologia*, xci (1945), 1–106.
—— (1946)	E. T. Leeds, 'Denmark and Early England', *Antiquaries Journal*, xxvi (1946), 31 ff.
—— (1949)	E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Square-headed Brooches* (1949).
—— (1953)	E. T. Leeds, 'Anglo-Saxon Exports: a criticism', *Antiquaries Journal*, xxxiii (1953), 208 ff.
—— and Chadwick (1957)	E. T. Leeds (ed. by Sonia Chadwick), 'Notes on Jutish art in Kent between 450 and 575', *Medieval Archaeology*, i (1957), 5 ff.
Lethbridge (1951)	T. C. Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Lackford, Suffolk* (1951).
Lindenschmitt (1880–9)	L. Lindenschmitt, *Handbuch der deutschen Altertumskunde* (1880–9).
Mackeprang (1952)	M. B. Mackeprang, *De Nordiske Guldbrakteater* (1952).
Nenquin (1953)	J. Nenquin, *La nécropole de Furfooz* (1953).
Norberg (1931)	P. Norberg, 'Moor- und Depotfunde aus dem 5. Jahrhundert nach Chr. in Schonen', *Acta Archaeologia*, ii (1931), 104 ff.
Ôberg (1942)	H. Ôberg, *Guldbrakteaterna från Nordens Folkvandringstid* (1942).
Pilloy (1896–1912)	J. Pilloy, *Études sur d'anciens lieux de sépultures dans l'Aisne* (1896–1912), 3 volumes.
Riegl (1927)	A. Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (1927).
Roach Smith (1850)	C. Roach Smith, *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lymne* (1850).
Salin (1904)	B. Salin, *Die altgermanische Thierornamentik* (1904).
Savory (1956)	H. N. Savory, 'Some sub-Romano-British brooches from South Wales', *Dark Age Britain: Studies presented to E. T. Leeds* (1956), 40 ff.
Shetelig (1912)	H. Shetelig, *Vestlandske graver fra jernalderen* (1912).
—— (1927)	H. Shetelig, 'The origins of the Scandinavian Style of Ornament in the Migration Period', *Archaeologia*, xxvi (1927).
—— (1949)	H. Shetelig, *Classical Impulses in Scandinavian Art from the Migration Period to the Viking Age*.
Slomann (1959)	Wencke Slomann, *Saetrangfunnet*: Norske Oldfunn, ix (1959).
Smith (1923)	R. Smith, *Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities*, British Museum (1923).
Voss (1954)	O. Voss, 'The Høstentorp silver hoard and its period', *Acta Archaeologica*, xxv (1954), 171–219.
Werner (1930)	J. Werner, 'Spätrömische Gürtelgarnituren in Keilschnitt Technik', *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, xxvi (1930), 53–63.
—— (1941)	J. Werner, *Die beiden Zierscheiben des Thorsberger Moorfundes* (1941).
—— (1953)	J. Werner, 'Zu fränkischen Schwertern des 5. Jahrhunderts', *Germania*, xxxi (1953), 38–44.
Wheeler (1930)	R. E. M. Wheeler, *London in Roman Times*, London Museum (1930).
Willers (1901)	H. Willers, *Die römische Bronzeeimer von Hemmoor* (1901).
Wulff (1909)	O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und mittelalterliche, byzantische und italische Bildwerke* (1909).
Ziegel (1956)	K. Ziegel, 'Zum Spangenhelm von Stössen', *Ausgrabungen und Funde: Nachrichtenblatt für Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, i, vol. v (1956).



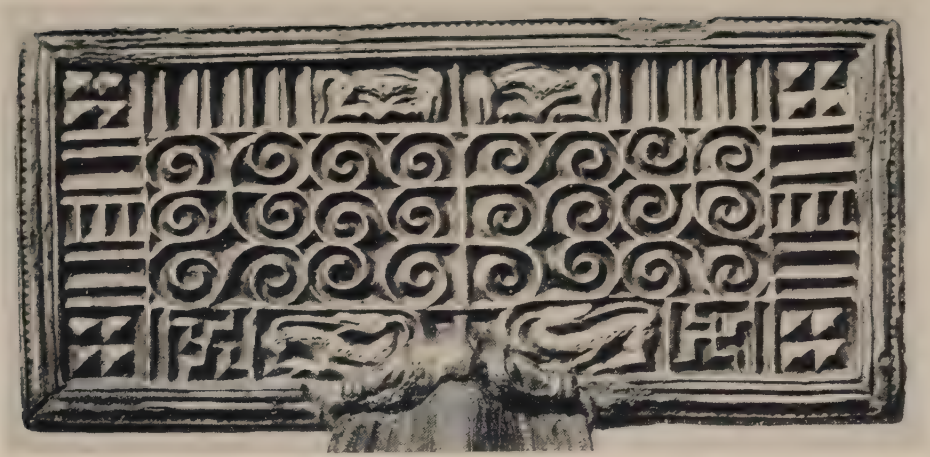
a. Detail of the animal decoration on the shield boss from Herpály, Hungary (after Werner (1941), pl. XXIX)



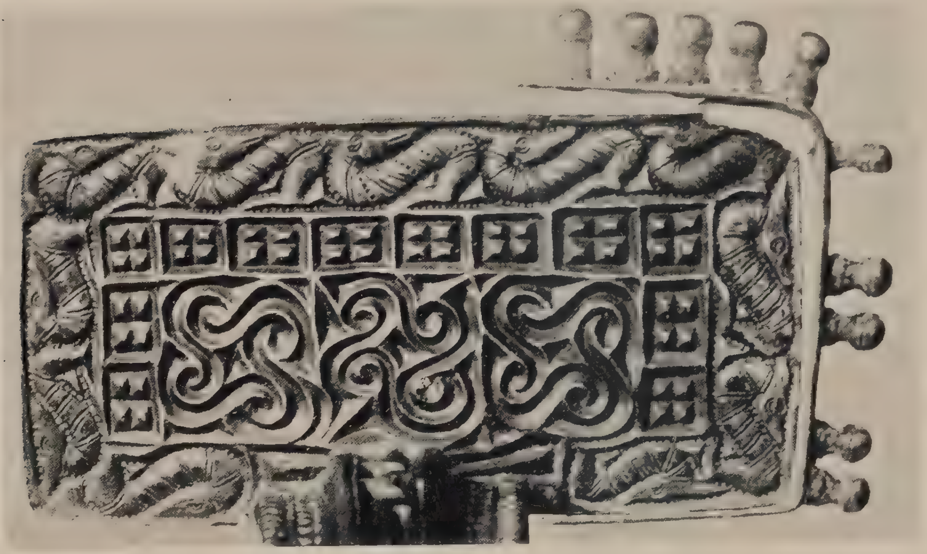
b. Detail of the decoration on the Petersburg helmet (after Alföldi (1934), fig. 23)



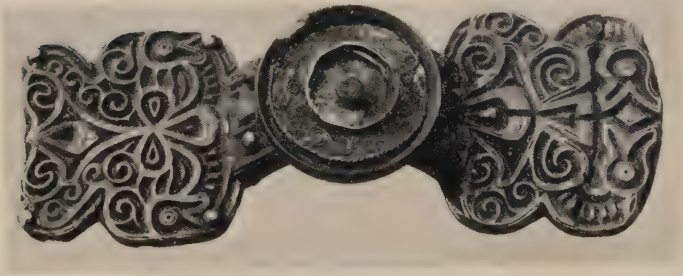
c. Detail of the decoration on the helmet from Gammertingen, Hohenzollern (after Alföldi (1934), fig. 24)



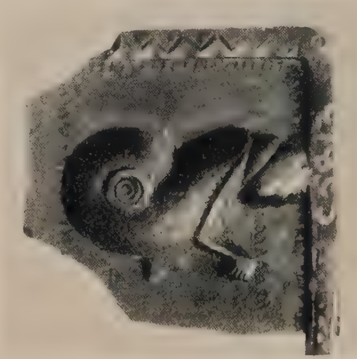
a. Headplate of the relief brooch from Nordheim, Hedrum, Vestfold, Norway ($\frac{2}{1}$)



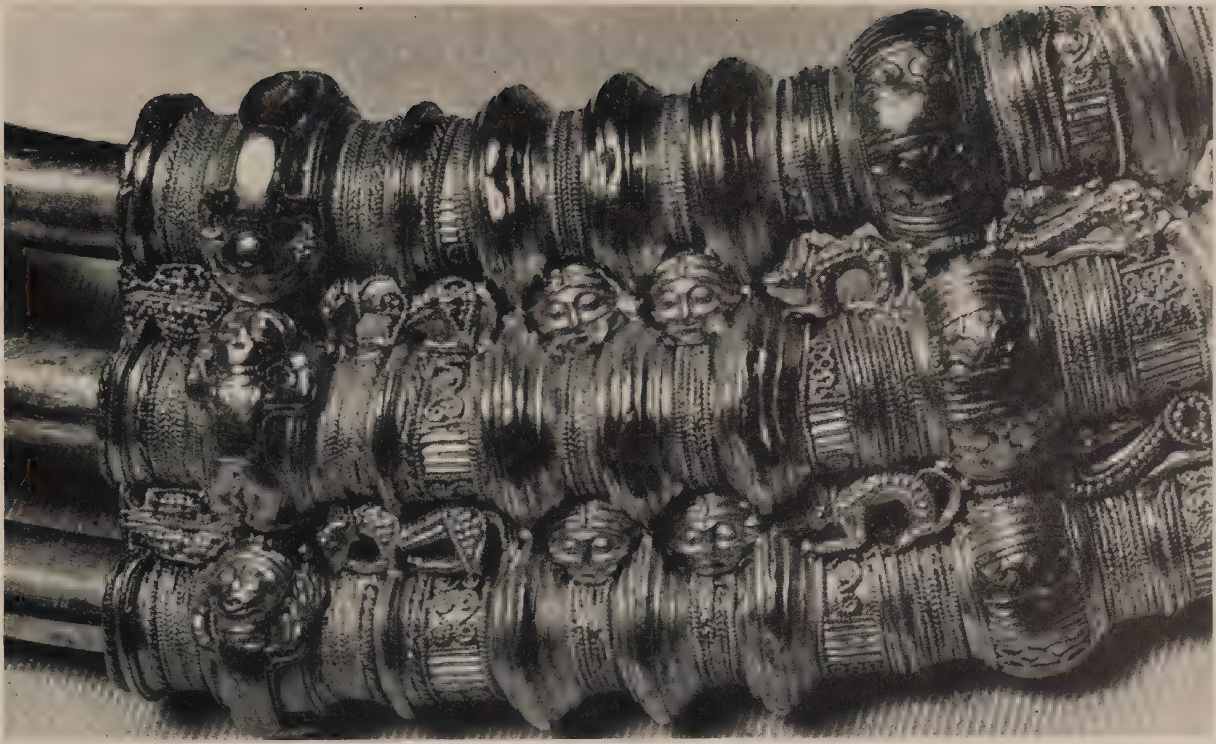
b. Headplate of the relief brooch from Hol, Inderøy, Nord Trøndelag, Norway ($\frac{2}{1}$)



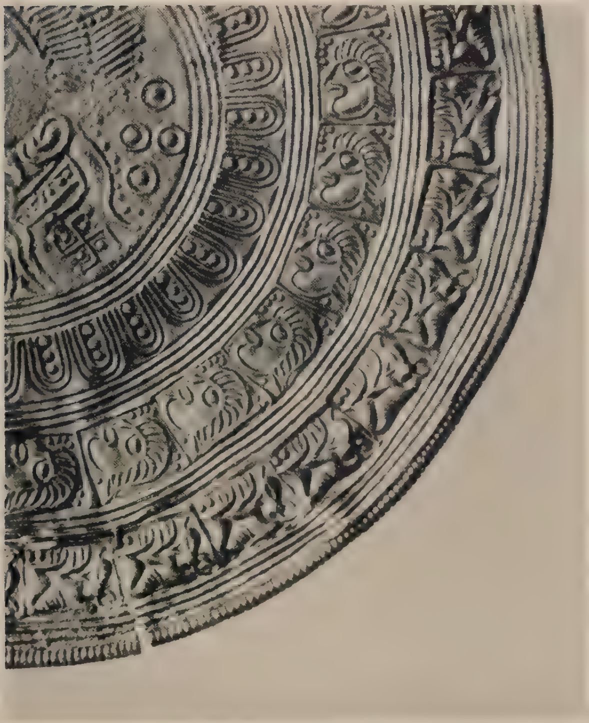
c. Equal armed brooch from Holmgaard bog, Viborg, Jutland ($\frac{1}{1}$)



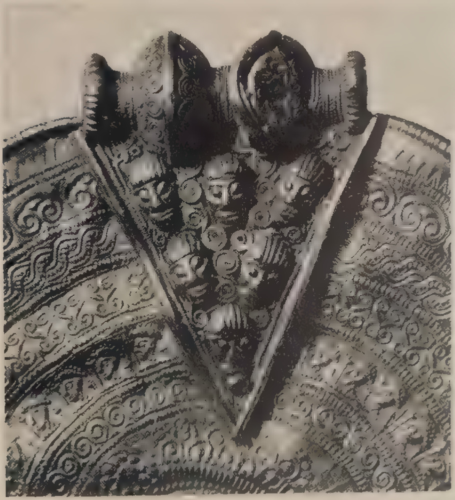
d. Fragmentary headplate of plate brooch from Meilby, Aalborg, Jutland ($\frac{3}{2}$)



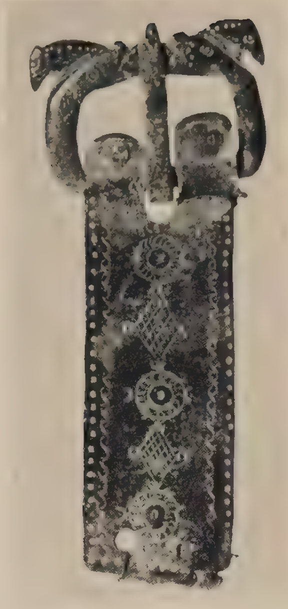
a. Detail of the gold collar from Ålleberg, Västergotland, Sweden



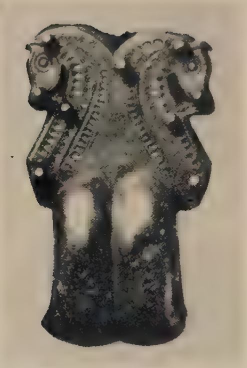
b. Detail of the gold bracteate from Lyngby, Randers, Jutland ($\frac{2}{1}$)



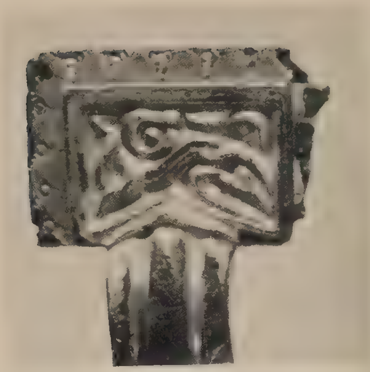
c. The decorated mount of the gold bracteate from Gerete, Gotland, Sweden ($\frac{2}{1}$)



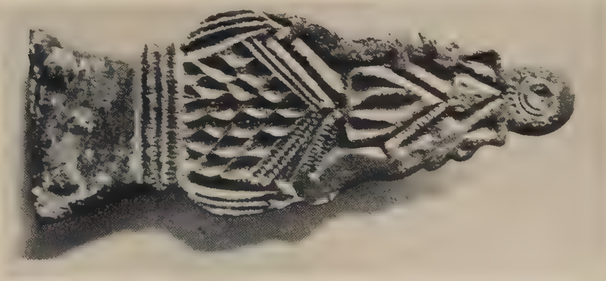
a. Buckle and plate from Dorchester, Oxon. $(\frac{1}{1})$



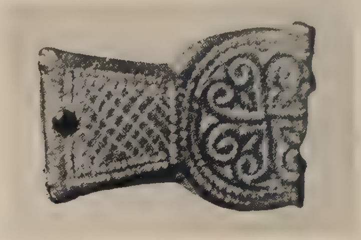
b. Object from Sösdala, Scania, Sweden $(\frac{1}{1})$



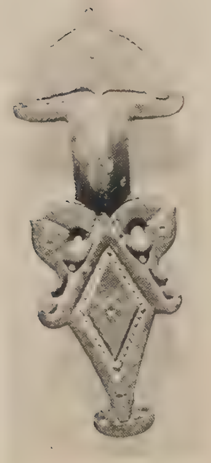
c. Detail of square-headed brooch from Bifrons, Kent $(\frac{2}{1})$



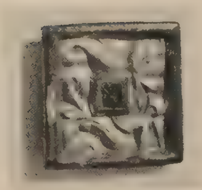
d. Chip-carved strap-end from Amiens, France $(\frac{1}{1})$



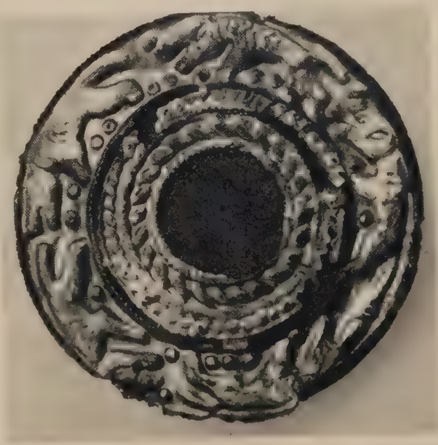
e. Fragment of strap-end from Ixworth, Suffolk $(\frac{1}{1})$



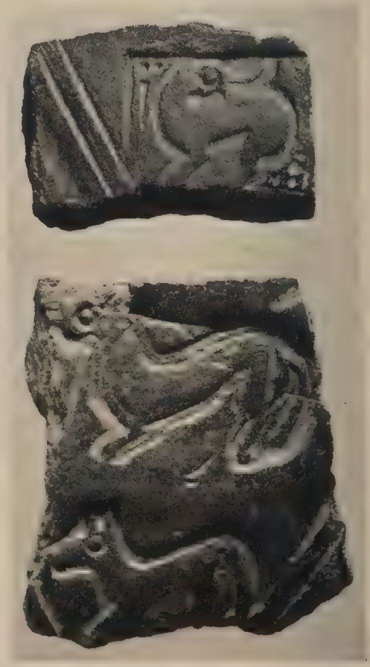
f. Bow-brooch from Bifrons, Kent $(\frac{1}{1})$



g. Belt-plate from Icklingham, Suffolk $(\frac{1}{1})$



h. Disc brooch from St. John's cricket field, Cambridge $(\frac{1}{1})$



i. Animal-stamped pottery from Markshall, Norfolk $(\frac{1}{1})$

*The Trewhiddle Hoard**

By DAVID M. WILSON, Esq., F.S.A., and C. E. BLUNT, Esq., O.B.E., F.S.A.

THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND HISTORY OF THE FIND

THE hoard,[1] one of the most important finds of metalwork and coins of the Christian Saxon period, was discovered in 1774 by tin-workers in a stream-work, 17 feet under the surface of the ground, at Trewhiddle, St. Austell, Cornwall.[2] It was hidden in a heap of loose stones which Philip Rashleigh in his original publication[3] ascribes to an old mine working. The collection of the hoard was haphazard and it seems likely that a certain number of coins, and possibly some other articles, were lost before Rashleigh could collect them together at Menabilly. It is possible, for instance, that the chalice was intact when found and, if this is so, many fragments have disappeared subsequently. When they were found it is recorded that certain objects were covered with copper from a vein in the neighbourhood.

Philip Rashleigh recorded the find in 1788, at which time it was displayed to the Society of Antiquaries,[4] publishing it in vol. ix of *Archaeologia*, and the chalice was further published by him in vol. xi. The antiquities and some of the coins were given by Sir Colman Rashleigh to the Rev. Canon Rogers,[5] whose son, Mr. J. J. Rogers of Penrose, Helston, presented them in 1880 to the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities of the British Museum in appreciation of the work of Sir Augustus Franks for the National Collections.[6] On this occasion after nearly a century they were once more displayed before the Society of Antiquaries. When these objects

---

* This paper was published with the aid of a grant from the Council for British Archaeology.

[1] In the archaeological discussion that follows the author wishes to acknowledge the help of the following persons: Messrs. Julian Brown, F.S.A.; Herbert Maryon, O.B.E., F.S.A.; R. H. M. Dolley, F.S.A.; W. Bulmer; G. C. Dunning, F.S.A.; J. Lionel Rogers; J. J. Rashleigh; Dr. Ole Klindt-Jensen; and Miss A. Henshall; Messrs. M. R. Hull, F.S.A., and R. B. K. Stevenson, F.S.A., and many curators and directors of museums and collections in England, Holland, and Scandinavia. Especially I must thank my colleagues Messrs. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, F.S.A., and P. E. Lasko, F.S.A., of the British Museum, and my teacher Professor Holger Arbman of Lund University, Sweden; the detailed and precise criticism of these three scholars and the long hours of discussion with each of them have helped to clarify my thoughts on many aspects of the paper. Lastly I must thank my wife for her painstaking work on the drawings in this section and for much clerical assistance. D. M. W.

[2] The stream-work is perhaps that described by J. W. Colenso, 'A Description of the Happy-Union Tin Stream-work at Pentuan', Cornwall, *Trans. Royal Geological Society of Cornwall*, 1832, iv, 29. It should be noted, however, that the dates of the starting of the work in the mine do not exactly coincide with the date of the find.

[3] *Archaeologia*, ix, 187.

[4] *Society of Antiquaries Minute Book*, xxii, 394. The drawings of the hoard pl. xxii are taken from this source.

[5] J. Rashleigh, 'An Account of Anglo-Saxon coins . . . found at Trewhiddle, St. Austell, Cornwall', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, p. 138.

[6] Letter from J. J. Rogers, Esq., to Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq.

Mar. 24/80 Penrose,
Helston.

My dear Franks,

I send you in a small box, by Rail, addressed to British Museum, the little find of Anglo-Saxon, silver and bronze ornaments found at Trewhiddle, in Cornwall, in 1774, engraved in Archaeologia vol. 9, plate 8 and more particularly described in No. 8 of the Journal of Royal Institution of Cornwall 1867. Kindly present these to the Trustees of your Museum as a small token of my regard for you, as the benefactor to so many branches of the National Collection over which you preside. They might like to see them at the Antiquaries again after the lapse of a century. I am in bed and obliged to employ an emanuensis.

I am sincerely yours,
(Signed) John Jope Rogers.
Aug. W. Franks, Esq.

were presented to the British Museum a few pieces were already missing, namely a gold pendant, a small ingot of gold, and two silver finger-rings: inquiry among the descendants of Philip Rashleigh and J. J. Rogers has failed to trace these missing objects. It is possible, though not probable, that they still exist, for coins from the hoard were distributed from the Rashleigh collection.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS

The Large Mount (80, 4–10, 9) (fig. 1 *a*, pl. XXIII, *a*)

The mount consists of a strip of silver (repaired in two places in modern times) with a straight top and an arcaded base divided between two plastic terminal animal heads into eleven fields of sub-triangular shape. The triangles interlock, the apex of one alternating with the base of the next. The fields, which contain engraved, nielloed ornament, are divided by beaded lines. The top and bottom of the mount are delimited by a beaded border. Beyond the two plastic animal heads were, originally, two plain strips. One appears to have been broken off in antiquity and the second is bent downwards and broken at the rivet-hole (as though forced off its base) (pl. XXIV, *b*). The mount is curved into a half circle.

Length 21·5 cm.; average height 1·9 cm.; approx. diam. of the curve 10 cm.

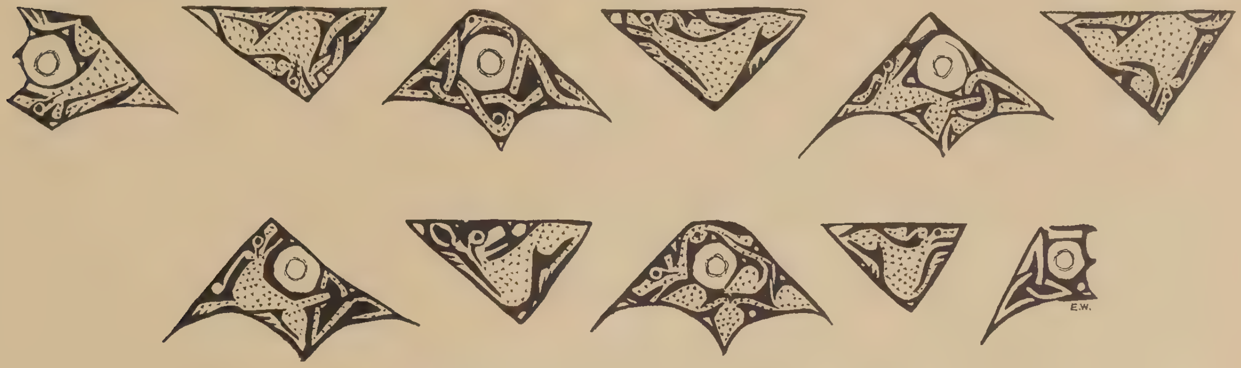
Description of the ornament of the fields from left to right; the straight edge is taken to be the top of the mount for reasons which will be discussed below (numeration as in fig. 1 *a*):

1. The head of the animal is in the bottom of an irregular field: the animal is curved round a rivet-hole to the left of the field. The head, which looks into the bottom left-hand corner, has a square snout and a V-shaped mouth with a rounded ear; the body is sub-triangular, with an emphasized muscular hip and a weak three-toed hind-leg. The front leg runs along the edge of the field behind the ear: it is club-shaped and has two nicks, suggestive of toes. The eye of the animal is attached to the back of the head by a short string-like feature. The body is speckled all over with small triangular nicks formed with the point of the engraving tool.

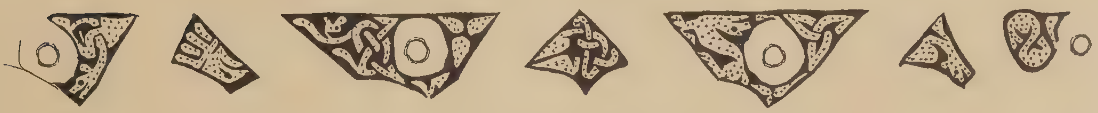
2. In this field is an animal with its head at the apex of an inverted triangle: the animal looks towards the apex. The head is of the same type as that in the first field, with the same eye but slightly different ear (the ear is extended and above a short constriction becomes a leaf). The body and the thigh are of a similar shape, but less angular. The front foot develops into a knot ornament attached to the bottom of the shoulder, but the back leg stretches in a normal way along the base of the triangle and has three toes. The animal is speckled all over; there is a suspicion of a foot below the chin.

3. The field is triangular with an arcaded base. In the centre of the field is a rivet-hole surrounded by a plain area. From this central area towards the apex leads off a ribbon terminating in a small animal head. The head has an eye filled with niello and a mouth. Below the hole and not connected with the head are a series of knots forming, at the join of the arcading, a small loop. The whole ornament, with the exception of the plain field surrounding the rivet-hole, is speckled.

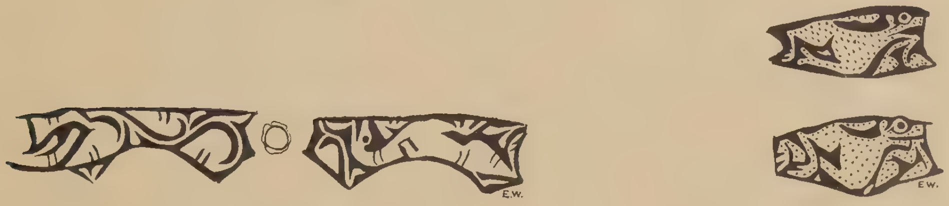
4. The animal in this field has a head facing towards the left in the top left-hand corner of the inverted triangle. The head with its 'stringed' eye is of typical form as is the ear, developing into a leaf, the sub-triangular body and the shaped hip. The two three-toed legs extend along the two shorter sides of the triangle and there is a short stumpy tail. The animal is speckled.



a. The ornament of the large mount, fields 1–11.

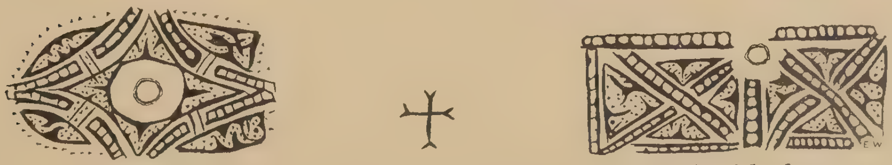


b. The ornament of the second mount, fields 1–7.



c. The ornament of the smallest mount.

d. The ornament of the strap-ends.



e. The ornament of the box-like object: *left*, top; *centre*, back; *right*, front.

FIG. 1. The ornament of certain objects from the Trewhiddle Hoard $(\frac{3}{2})$.

5. Another triangle with arcaded base and rivet-hole almost touching the centre of one of the shorter sides. A speckled animal is placed in the space below the rivet-hole. The animal looks upwards and back. In detail it closely resembles the majority of the whole animals so far discussed, save that its tail is roughly and inaccurately interlaced and its front paw extends in a natural manner into the bottom left-hand

corner of the field. The knot of the tail runs into the field surrounding the rivet-hole. The ear of this animal has a less leaf-like characteristic than the one in the previous field.

6. In this field is an animal with its head at the apex of an inverted triangle. The head, which looks towards the apex, is not drawn with as much detail as in the other fields; the eye is not tied to the back of the head with a string-like motif, instead it has a rounded bump over it. There is, however, the same square snout and a long trailing ear of scroll-form. The body is rather fuller than those of the other animals. The usual shaped hip develops into a three-toed rear leg bent along the base of the triangle. Along the left-hand shorter side is a curved tail with a leaf-like terminal. The two-toed front leg extends in front of the animal into the top right-hand corner. The animal is speckled all over.

7. This animal, which is speckled all over, is in the same position as the animal in field number 5, the only differences being that the head reaches up to the apex and the tail is a three-element knot which does not run into the field round the rivet-hole. The ear is a scroll.

8. Animal in an inverted triangular field. The head of the animal is placed in the top left-hand corner of the field and is backward-looking. In all details, save the ears, this animal is typical of the others on the mounting: the ear is in the form of a hook or loop. The body of the animal is speckled but the head is left plain.

9. In the centre of this triangular field with an arcaded base is a rivet-hole, surrounded by the usual plain area. Over this hole, with its head looking into the bottom left-hand corner, is an animal head; but there is no body. In place of the body is a stem with a regular loop (similar to that in the bottom of field 3) and two tendrils end in a leaf. Below the rivet-hole are three leaves, the two outer ones extending into the two corners of the field out of the central leaf, which is pointing downwards. These are connected by a broken line with the upper part of the field. The ornament is speckled all over.

10. In the inverted triangle that delimits the field is an animal looking into the top right-hand corner, with niello surviving in the eye and between the toes of the hind leg. The animal is of the usual shape but with a bump over the eye and no string-like motif; it has a scroll-like ear and a stumpy tail. The animal is speckled all over.

11. The last field has a rivet-hole and, in the left-hand corner, a triquetra. This motif is not speckled.

At either end of the strip is a plastic repoussé head of formalized appearance. This consists of two triangles touching at the apex where there are two round bosses, one on each side, to represent eyes. The centre of the triangles is filled with degenerate pendent leaf ornament, the top one recognizable as a trefoil. The head on the right-hand side has a thin band of silver extending from its snout. This strip is slightly bent down at the end where it is broken and there was a rivet-hole at the break. A similar strip has been broken from the other side (pl. XXIV, *b*).

There are modern repairs at two places on this mount, behind the fifth and eleventh fields.

The Second Mount (80, 4–10, 10) (pl. XXIII, *a* (*bottom*) and fig. 1 *b*)

The second mount is similar to the large mount, but is smaller and has seven fields. Both the plain strips beyond the plastic heads are present and complete: one is thicker than the other, and both end in a rivet-hole (pl. XXIV, *a*).

Length *c.* 18·2 cm.; average height 1·5 cm.; approx. diam. of the curve 8·8 cm.

Description of the animal ornament from right to left; the straight edge at the top (numeration as in fig. 1 *b*):

1. This field is delimited on one side by the plain area round the rivet-hole: in the bottom left-hand corner of the field is an animal head with square snout and bump over the eye, a small ear and body degenerating into a foliate motif; the whole speckled.
2. The field is in the shape of a triangle with arcaded base. In the field with its beak towards the right-hand corner is a hawk-like head with niello in the eye. This head is partially severed by two cuts one from above and one below; behind these cuts and at right-angles to them is a series of four billets (feathers). The ornament is speckled all over.
3. This irregular field contains in the centre a rivet-hole with plain surrounding area. A little way from the top left-hand corner is a small animal head, the animal quickly degenerating into a jumble of lines and interlace. A small leaf appears beneath the rivet-hole and a trefoil to the right. The whole ornament is speckled.
4. This panel contains an irregular interlace pattern the two ends of which terminate in leaves. The ornament is speckled throughout.
5. This field is divided in two by the rivet-hole and its surrounding area. On the right-hand side there is a triquetra knot and on the left an animal with throat and lower jaw in a straight line along the upper edge; the head faces towards the right, having a slight point in front of its eye. In the top left-hand corner is a leg with a forked foot, other features are a shaped hip, a bent rear leg, and a tail. Below the rivet-hole is a trefoil. The ornament is speckled throughout.
6. The field is approximately the shape of a triangle: in the bottom right-hand corner and facing into the corner is an animal head with a bump over the eye, the eye being filled with niello. Two leaves emerge from the head. The ornament is speckled throughout.
7. In this field is a figure-of-eight motif. There is the suspicion of an eyeless head in the middle of the left-hand side. The ornament is speckled throughout. A rivet-hole forms one border of the field.

At either end of the mount is a repoussé head (pl. XXIV, *a*) of similar form to those on the large mount but with lozenge-shaped fields above the nostrils and with two separate patterns in the sub-triangular fields above the eyes. In the left-hand one is a pendent leaf decoration and the right-hand one is divided by two touching segments of a circle. From the right-hand head leads a strip of silver pierced at the end, a thinner strip leads from the other end and the hole for the rivet at the end forms a loop.

Notes on the above two pieces

In the fields of both these mounts occur a number of small billets of silver that would stand up above the inlaid niello; these have been faithfully reproduced in the drawings of the animals (fig. 1, *a* and *b*) but have not been described above for the sake of clarity.

It is clear from the remaining fragments that the engraved lines were inlaid with niello; most of this has now disappeared but again for the sake of clarity the animals have been drawn as though the niello was in place. This explains any apparent discrepancies between the drawings (fig. 1, *a* and *b*) and the photographs (pl. XXIII, *a*) as in the latter it is not always possible to see the shallow V-shaped depressions of the graving tool.

The speckling on these two mounts is clearly seen to have started round the edge of the animal, perhaps in two lines, the remaining space being then speckled in a haphazard manner. It is uncertain whether the speckling contained niello.

The straight top and the arcaded bottom are both delimited by a beaded border formed of square-cut beads with rounded corners. Each of the fields is then surrounded by a thin free-standing unbroken line. A more definite division of the fields is provided by a series of short beaded lines dividing each field from the next. From the plain areas that surround each rivet-hole it would appear that the rivets were probably dome-shaped, as for instance on the Burghead mounting[1] (pl. XXIX, *b*) and as on many of the disc-brooches. Where the rivets are missing on such objects a similar undecorated area is seen.

Discussion with Mr. Herbert Maryon, F.S.A., of the British Museum Research Laboratory has led to the conclusion that the carved ornament on these pieces, on the box-like object discussed below, and on other similarly decorated objects is executed by the use of two techniques, chasing and engraving. It seems probable to Mr. Maryon that the border is chased and that the original pattern was also chased. But small hiatuses in the engraving indicate where the tool has slipped, and demonstrate the use of engraving to give the final clear definition to the lines. The spots on the backs of the animals were also executed with an engraving tool (the point driving in and pushing up a small pimple of metal on the far side). The plastic heads at either end were punched up from the under side. The ornamentation was presumably carried out before the mounts were curved. All the carving, including that on the terminal heads, is keyed for niello with small touches of the corner of the chisel.

The Smallest Mount (80, 4–10, 11) (pl. XXIII, *b* and fig. 1 *c*)

Length 12·2 cm.; height 1·2 cm.

This fragment, which has the appearance of having been hammered flat since it was manufactured, has only two fields of ornament, occupying no more than 5 cm. of the total length of the strip. The fields are on either side of a rivet hole and there is no beaded division.

1. The field, which is sub-rectangular with an arcaded base, contains a gentle foliate scroll with three leaves on either side of a curving stem with broadened

---

[1] *P.S.A. Scot.* iv, 378.

terminals. Each leaf and the terminal have two nicks cut on the outer edge. In the left-hand bottom corner is a forked motif reminiscent of an animal head, also with two short cuts in the thicker part.

2. The field is of similar shape and an animal takes up the greater part of the area. The animal is upside down and the head is twisted round so that the snout is parallel with the top. There is a bump over the eye, a broken lower jaw, and the suspicion of an ear. The animal has a tail and three legs, each with three toes. To the left of the panel is a tendril, with a leaf, and to the right, between the near-side front leg and the back leg, are two leaves on a single stem. The animal has a series of double cuts at various places to give the composition a sense of roundness.

The First Strap-End (80, 4–10, 14) (pl. XXIII, *c* (*left*) and fig. 1 *d* (*top*))

Length 3 cm.

The terminal of the strap-end is slightly faceted to give a suggestion of the animal head usual in this position. The butt-end is split in the thickness of the metal and carries a rivet. The long sides of the central field are defined by a beaded border. The field consists of a quadrilateral, the small side nearest the terminal being straight, the two long sides being convex, and the other short side concave. In the field (looking towards the split end) is a speckled animal. Its snout is square and the eye is separated from the head; the ear bends back on itself and two leaves grow out of the open jaws. The body contracts in the manner we have seen on the two larger mounts to allow a shaped hip; the legs are set at right-angles to each other. The whole field was originally filled with niello.

A second similar strap-end is described below although it has its place among those objects which are lost.

The Second Strap-End (80, 4–10, 13) (pl. XXIII, *c* (*right*) and fig. 2 *d* (*bottom*))

Length about 3 cm.

This strap-end, which appears to have been mislaid during the war-time evacuation of the British Museum (1939-45), cannot now be found. It is known, however, from pre-war photographs. The strap-end is of a similar shape to the one just described. The animal is similar except in detail but is more chunky and angular and its legs cross.

The Chalice (80, 4–10, 1, 2, and 3) (pl. XXV and fig. 3)

Reconstructed height 12·6 cm.; diam. 11·6 cm.; external diameter of the foot-ring 8·6 cm.

The chalice (as now reconstructed) consists of three elements, the bowl, the knop, and the foot. The bowl was much shattered when recovered and is reconstructed from the twenty fragments remaining: a considerable part, however, is still missing but its reconstruction is reasonable. The bowl is built up on a copper form to which it is attached by means of soft solder. At some stage the fragments have been wired together and the holes made during this process can still be seen in pairs along the line of the breaks. The rim of the bowl is flanged and it has a T-shaped cross-section produced by peening. Round the rim, about 3 mm. from the top is a series of rivet-holes in which rivet shanks remain; owing to the damaged state of the bowl it is only possible to see eight of the shanks (there may, however, have been one or two more which were disturbed by the repairs). Some 4 mm. below the rim is a band of gilding some 3 mm. in width which coarsens at the top. Within this gilded band are the shanks of at least six rivets. The top of the rim and the inside of the rim are gilded. It is probable that the interior of the bowl was also gilded, as was obligatory under canon law, but the reconstruction has hidden the interior. 1·4 cm. below the rim all round the cup are traces of a scratched but regular line. There are traces of solder between this line and the gilded band.

As at present reconstructed the central element of the chalice consists of a knop (pl. XXV, *b*). In elevation its shape appears as a double cone truncated in the centre by an oval: its section is shown in fig. 3. This is of one piece but the likelihood that certain features have been overlooked in the reconstruction will be discussed below. The foot is complete and consists of a segment of a hammered hollow sphere with a top shaped to take the knop; this flattened portion contains three punched rivet-holes of slightly different diameter. The centre hole may have been enlarged slightly at the time of the reconstruction. The bottom of the foot is turned over and then hammered flat to form a flange.

The bowl was hammered into shape, presumably by raising it. The reconstruction of the bowl is very convincing for two reasons: (1) there is sufficient depth surviving in the fragments to ascertain the curve, (2) the whole of the rim diameter survives.

The knop is hammered out of a rough and heavy casting, presumably of tubular form: traces of radial blows in the constrictions would seem to indicate that the knop was finished externally by hammering and polishing. The interior of the knop is unpolished.

The Box-like object (80, 4–10, 8, and 12) (pl. XXIII, *d* and fig. 1 *e*)

80, 4–10, 8, length 2·8 cm.; height 1·3 cm.
80, 4–10, 12, length 2·6 cm.

This consists of two pieces, the walls and top of a box-like object. The box is rounded at one end and square at the other. The front of the box is divided into two rectangular fields with a rivet-hole at the centre top; both rectangles are divided by saltires and the whole is delineated and divided by beaded lines. In all but one of the triangular fields formed by the division is a foliate ornament, the one exception being that on the extreme left which has a small animal with a head typical of the style of Trewhiddle; the head is in the bottom corner and the two legs are of the shape we have already noticed on the two larger mounts. The back and the square end of the box are plain, save that in the middle of the back below a small hole is a *cross moline*.

The top has a central hole surrounded by a plain area and is bordered by a series of triangular chisel cuts. Inside the border, the top is divided by four arcs of a circle each touching the central area. In the four fields surrounding this hole are bifoliate ornaments. The arcs are beaded and divided in the middle by a plain billet. The external fields have more elaborate decoration: the top left-hand field has an animal's head with a zigzagged tadpole's body and a leaf for tail; there is a bump over the eye and the snout is rounded; traces of niello remain in the carving. The top right field has two leaves, the bottom left a triquetra with one elongated element, and the bottom right two leaves with a curved zigzag joining them. The whole ornament is speckled.

The Pin (80, 4–10, 5, and 17) (pl. XXIV, *c* and fig. 2)

Length of pin 19·5 cm.

The head of the pin is a hollow fourteen-sided figure 1·9 cm. square. The pin passes through the bottom and top of this head. At the bottom a carved stop holds the head in position and the pin is riveted over at the top and marked with a cross by a tracing tool. The two fields at top and bottom have in each corner stylized leaves. The other fields are ornamented as set out beneath. The numeration is as in fig. 2, reading from left to right.

Lozenge-shaped field 1: The ornament in this field consists of a cross with pointed ends and arms constructed from four concave lines. Around the centre of the cross is constructed a square. The lines are all filled with niello. The centre of the cross is speckled, leaving the ends of the cross and the corners of the square plain. *Lozenge-shaped field 2*: This field contains an angular animal with an eye at the apex; there is a notch behind the eye and the whole of the top of the jaw is notched; the bottom lip ends in a bead. The head of the animal faces backwards, the front leg points along the left-hand top side and the hind leg appears along the right-hand bottom side with its bottom jaw along the side. There is a single notch in front of the eye, which is separated from the head and placed in a socket. The neck turns at an acute angle and runs across the body of the upper animal and into its mouth. The second animal is slightly speckled and the background filled in with niello. *Lozenge-shaped field 3*: This field contains trefoils growing swastika-wise out of a concave equal-sided figure. This central element is slightly speckled. The whole background is filled in with niello. *Lozenge-shaped field 4*: This field contains exactly the same ornament as in field 2 save that the head of the primary animal is in the left-hand corner. All nielloed.

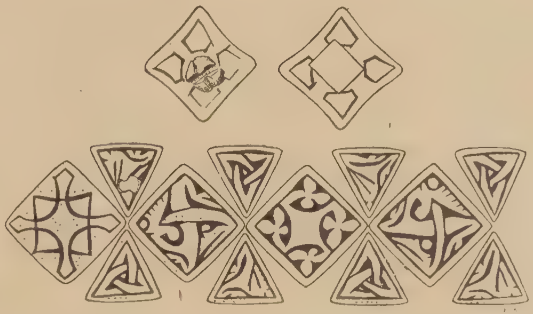


FIG. 2. The ornament of the pin-head, extended drawing ($\frac{1}{1}$).

Triangular field 1 (top): In this field there is an animal with head in the bottom corner and two-toed legs bent along the other sides: the animal is backward-looking and the whole background is filled with niello. It has a lozenge-shaped ear and a pointed snout. There is a small break in the metal across the hind-quarters of the animal. *Triangular field 2 (top)*: In this field is a plain squarish triquetra with nielloed background. *Triangular field 3 (top)*: Similar to the animal in triangular field 1 (top) with head in top left corner. *Triangular field 4 (top)*: Similar to triquetra in triangular field 2 (top).

Triangular field 1 (bottom): In this field is a triquetra of similar form to that in triangular field 2 (top). *Triangular field 2 (bottom)*: An animal of similar form to that in triangular field 1 (top), but the top of the upper jaw is notched. Head in bottom right-hand corner. *Triangular field 3 (bottom)*: A triquetra of similar form to that in triangular field 2 (top). *Triangular field 4 (bottom)*: An animal of similar form to that in triangular field 1 (top) with head in bottom right-hand corner, not notched.

The pin is in three pieces and is broken and bent. Underneath the head where the pin runs into the head is a carved, faceted step.

The Scourge and Bead (80, 4–10, 4) (pl. XXVI, *a*)

Length 49·8 cm., when fully stretched out.

One strand of trichinopoly chainwork is doubled and the two strands so formed are held together by plaited loops of wire at five places, which are now unequally spaced. The chain terminates in a large loop or knot from which issue four slender pendent tails each terminating in a plaited knot. The whole is of silver. A bead, or toggle, 2·6 cm. in diam., made of blue glass with white veining, is attached to the end of the scourge by doubling it through the loop formed at the end.

The Brooch (80, 4–11, 6) (pl. XXVIII, *b*)

Length (surviving) of pin 5·5 cm.; diam. across the head 3·6 cm.

The brooch is of cast silver: the head is penannular with expanded terminals. The terminals are decorated, between borders of incised lines, with a sunken lozenge in which are four rough pimples. The terminals are roughly faceted round the lozenge. The top of the head and the middle of each side are decorated by two incised lines.

The pin is approximately oval in section and the top is flattened out and bent over, being decorated at the bottom of this flattened portion with three laterally, closely spaced, incised lines. The top has two bordering lines roughly cut along each edge.

The back of the head is decorated with cross-hatched lines between a double scratched border.

Strap-End (80, 4–10, 15) (pl. XXVI, *b*)

Length 2·6 cm.

This strap-end which is cast silver has a single rivet-hole at the split end. The rivet is missing and part of the split end at the back has been broken away; but otherwise the object is complete; fragments of leather remaining inside the split end. The top of the strap-end has a midrib from which it slopes away on either side to its squared edges. Two nicks appear at the split end, one on either side of the midrib. The terminal is rounder and thinner than the split end. The back is flat but slightly curved along the length.

Strap-End (80, 4–10, 16) (pl. XXVI, *b*)

Length 2·5 cm.

Another, similar; the bottom of the split end is broken away, the marks inside the split indicating that it was sawn; a plain rivet remains.

Belt-Loop (80, 4–10, 17) (pl. XXVI, *b*)

Length 2·2 cm.

This object, which is of cast silver, is in the form of a rectangular loop. The upper portion, which is sloped from a midrib, is in the shape of a lozenge with the points squared off, the broader angles being notched.

Belt-Loop (80, 4–10, 18) (pl. XXVI, *b*)

Length 2·2 cm.

Another similar, the two loops forming a set with the strap-ends.

Buckle and Buckle-Plate (80, 4–10, 19) (pl. XXVI, *d*)

Length together 4·3 cm.

The buckle plate consists of a thin plain strip of bronze slightly pointed at one end and bent in two so that the pointed end projects slightly. One rivet attached the plate to the strap; the rivet-holes remain but the rivet has disappeared. The surface is pitted and the plate is pierced in a number of places. The bend of the plate has a square-shaped cut in it from which the buckle tongue emerged. The loop is semicircular in shape with a straight bar which passes inside the bend of the buckle plate. The loop is of semicircular section and a small nick is allowed for the tongue to be engaged.

Description of the missing objects[1]

These five objects appear in the original publication of the hoard but efforts to trace them have failed; they were not received in the British Museum with the rest of the hoard in 1880.

The Faceted Finger-Ring (pl. XXVII, *d*)

This silver ring which was hexagonal in shape has eight lozenge-shaped fields and sixteen triangular fields between them (eight on either side). The sketch which exists gives us little idea of the decoration in the fields, but it seems probable that it is some sort of angular interlace. The ring appears to be fairly heavy and would seem to be about 2·5 cm. in diameter.

The Finger-Ring with the Quatrefoil Bezel (pl. XXVII, *e*)

The other silver ring seems to be of the same size or slightly larger. It appears to consists of a plain loop of circular cross-section and a thin quatrefoil bezel. In the centre of the bezel is a square field with a quatrefoil or four-element interlace. The four external fields, which are each half of an oval, contain what appear to be trefoils.

The Gold Pendant (pl. XXVII, *b*)

This appears to be a small gold bracteate with an elongated loop attached by a single rivet. The face of the gold plate is decorated by gold filigree wire in six spirals, set in three pairs. In the triangular space so formed in the centre, are five rings of filigree wire (annular filigree). Other similar rings, in groups and singly, fill up the spaces in the design. The pendant is surrounded by a border of filigree wire. One of the three sets of spirals appears to be encircled by a figure of eight, but this may be a fault of the engraving as it does not appear in the sketch in the Society of Antiquaries minute book (pl. XXII). The filigree appears to be of twisted wire and has always been discussed as such.

---

[1] The description below is taken from the engraving published by Rashleigh and from the water-colour by Schnebbelie from which the engraving was taken. The drawing is in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries and is, in parts, very much more detailed than the engraving (drawn on 12th May 1788, it is stuck in a scrap-book labelled 'Early Medieval'). Comparison of surviving objects with the engraving and with the drawing suggest that the points made in this section are reliable.

The Small Gold Ingot (pl. XXVI, *c*)

The gold billet is very small. It is of hexagonal shape with tapering sides.

The Collar (pl. XXVII, *a*)

This object consists of a round plate with three holes which in one instance[1] are shown to correspond to those in the base of the chalice. Round the circumference is a collar of twisted wire, a little way inside it is a small collar of sheet metal.

The Niello used in certain objects

In recent years attention has been paid to the analysis of niello, and Dr. Moss of the British Museum has discussed the structure of the niello in this hoard.[2] Tests were carried out on the niello of the pinhead and his conclusions are quoted here: 'As a result of overheating the acanthite has largely decomposed to silver, thus giving to the surface a high conductivity.'[3]

The niello is, however, silver sulphide, as was usual during the period in question.

Condition of the objects

The pinhead and the brooch are the most worn objects in the hoard. The chalice, which is much damaged, also shows signs of wear. The condition of the other objects is very good. The niello is largely missing from the horn mounts but otherwise the carving retains its almost mint crispness. There is no trace of the copper coating, recorded in the original publication, on any of the silver objects. The Society of Antiquaries minutes for 8th May 1788 suggest that it was merely the coins that were coated with copper: certainly many of the coins retain a distinctive colour to the present day (see below, p. 110).

DISCUSSION OF THE OBJECTS

In the discussion of the objects below, the numismatic dating of the hoard, to 875, must be borne in mind.

The Use of the Three Mounts

Reginald Smith[4] was the first to suggest that the semicircular bands from Trewhiddle were drinking-horn mounts. From an early stage it was pointed out that they would not fit on to the chalice and that, even if they were forced on, the rivet holes would not correspond. Since Reginald Smith's discussion of them the problem of their use has been avoided; indeed the extended drawings produced by him have been responsible for the statement that they were strap mounts.[1] The regular curve of the two larger mounts rules this out, but it is no easy matter to decide on their use. The greatest difficulty is presented by the ugly and clumsy appearance of the small tags beyond the plastic heads; the skill with which the mounts are executed would perhaps suggest that these appendages were hidden from sight, but it is difficult to visualize any object of diminishing half-round form to which these could be attached while hiding the ugly tags. A close parallel, however, suggests that Reginald Smith's original theory was correct: the Burghead mount (pl. xxix, *b*), which exhibits many of the features of the Trewhiddle objects, is undoubtedly either a drinking-horn or a cup mount; the arcaded base at Trewhiddle is paralleled by the saw-edged base at Burghead, there is the same division of the fields and the ornamental motifs in the fields are of similar character.[2] The Burghead mount, however, besides forming a complete circle, retains the rim binding of a type well known in northern Europe at this period.[3] A similar rim binding is known from Ballinaby, Islay,[4] but drinking-horn rim bindings of this period are rare in Britain, although we have a number of terminals.[5]

---

[1] This object is illustrated by Rashleigh in both *Archaeologia*, vol. ix, pl. VIII and vol. xi, pl. VII. The latter illustration shows the correspondence of the holes.

[2] A. A. Moss, 'Niello', *Studies in Conservation*, ii, 49. This paper is summarized in *Antiq. J.* xxxiii, 75.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 61, n. 3.

[4] *P.S.A. London*, xx, 1904, p. 51.

The half round of the Trewhiddle mounts is a strange form; the two larger ones are of different diameters and would seem to have been fitted on to a horn at different places along the length, or indeed on different horns. It should be noticed that it is not impossible that the diameter could be reduced by bending it firmly round the horn and attaching it by means of nails. In default of further evidence we can accept these bands as the mounts of a drinking horn, as was first postulated by Mr. Reginald Smith.

Drinking-horns first appear in England towards the end of the pagan Saxon period.[6]

---

[1] J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, London/Copenhagen, 1924, p. 127.

[2] The possibility that these were not drinking-horn mounts but mounts of a musical instrument (a mounted wind horn is described in a riddle in the Exeter Book) is, I think, less likely but cannot altogether be ruled out. The Burghead parallel discussed below is, I think, a sufficiently good and definite parallel to back up this identification.

[3] e.g. J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens Redskaper*, Oslo, 1951, pp. 396 f. Mounted drinking-horns were precious enough to be mentioned in the will of a prince: '⁊ þone drencehorn þe ic ær æt þam hirede gehohte on ealden mynstre', D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 56. Other mentions are in the will of Alfgifu, 'gerænodæs drincæhornæs', *ibid.* p. 22 and in the will of Wulfgyth, 'tueyn yboned hornes', *ibid.* p. 86.

[4] H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, Oslo, 1940, ii, 40.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 35, etc.; H. O'N. Hencken, 'Balinderry Crannog No. 2', *P.R. Irish Academy*, xviii, C, fig. 18, p. 45; M. MacDermott, 'Terminal Mounting of a Drinking Horn from Lismore, Co. Waterford', *J.R.S.A. Ireland*, lxxx, 1950, p. 262. Other examples are listed by J. Raftery, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, ii, Dublin, 1941, pp. 149 f. See also, 'A Bronze Viking Drinking Horn Mount from Fetter Lane, London', *Antiq. J.* xxviii, 179.

[6] I am ignoring in this context the glass drinking-horns which have been discussed by V. I. Evison, 'Anglo-Saxon Finds near Rainham, Essex, with a Study of Glass Drinking Horns,' *Arch.* xcvi, 159, which are not of English manufacture. The history of drinking-horns is discussed by J. G. D. Clark, *Prehistoric Europe*, London, 1952, p. 225; P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*, Oxford, 1944, pp. 111–14; J. Brøndsted, *Danmarks Oldtid*, Copenhagen, 1939, vol. ii and iii *passim*; and M. Ørsnes-Christensen, 'Die Drinkhörner', *Acta Archaeologica*, xix, 231 f. A theory concerning which some doubt must be entertained is postulated by R. J. C. Atkinson and S. Piggott, 'The Torrs Chamfrein', *Arch.* xcvi, 225 f. The authors of this paper propose a theory that the horns on the Torrs Chamfrein were drinking-horn terminals.

They are known from Taplow[1] and Sutton Hoo[2] and two doubtful examples are recorded from Faversham[3] and Burwell, Cambridgeshire.[4] The sub-triangular panels which appear below the lips of both the Taplow and Sutton Hoo horns are perhaps the origin, or the inspiration, of the arcaded base of the Trewhiddle mounts and of the toothed base of the Burghead mount.

Throughout the whole of the Danish prehistoric period Brøndsted has not found one single instance of stands fitted to drinking-horns, neither has he been able to trace any separate stands.[5] Anybody who has drunk out of a horn will know that they are awkward vessels to balance: it is extremely unlikely that they would be hung up full and a separate legged stand would be a challenge in balance to any man who had stayed the course at an Anglo-Saxon feast. It would seem likely that they were meant to be drained at one draught, or in the case of the large horns passed from hand to hand as loving cups (the large horns from Sutton Hoo would hold nearly six litres). Thor's well-known test of draining the horn is probably a reference to the former practice.

If this is so we have grounds for postulating that the Trewhiddle mounts were fixed to one side of the horn so that, once emptied, the horn could be placed on the table with the mounts upwards, the plastic animals' heads stopping it from rolling over. When the horn was hung up the decorated portions would be shown outwards. It is difficult even so to explain the use of the two tags, sticking out assymetrically at either end of the mounts; one can only suggest that they were covered in some way, perhaps by the loop for the suspension of the horn; but this is by no means a satisfactory solution.

That these mounts of uneven length belonged to the same horn is undoubted: it was usual to make drinking-horns in pairs from the head of the same animal:[6] it would seem unlikely that the craftsman would choose a head with such unevenly matched horns. The Department of Zoology of the British Museum (Natural History) has pointed out that it is impossible to tell the kind of beast from which horns of this size would have been taken.

The Chalice (pl. xxv, *c* and fig. 3)

The chalice in this hoard has often been pointed out as the only surviving piece of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical plate. A possible reason for the lack of comparative pieces of English provenance is given by Watts who says: 'The absence of English chalices of earlier date than the thirteenth century may partly be explained by the fact that a large number of vessels were sacrificed in 1193 for the ransom of Richard I.'[7] There may be some truth in this and the fact that so many of the continental chalices survive in cathedral treasuries may lead us to assume that such depredations and the wholesale robbery of shrines at the Reformation, with the pillage of plate in the Civil War, have all combined against the survival of Anglo-Saxon chalices.

---

[1] E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1936, pl. XXI.

[2] British Museum, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (5th impression), London, 1956, p. 28.

[3] British Museum, *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, London, 1923, fig. 43. G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, London, 1915, iv, 462, mentions the possibility of the presence of a drinking-horn in the Broomfield barrow: that there was a horn in the barrow is undoubted (*V.C.H. Essex*, i, 322) but the possibility that this need not have been a drinking-horn cannot be avoided: examination of the horn shows no surviving traces of mounts but it also shows that the horn was not pierced at the point and therefore cannot have been used as a musical instrument.

[4] T. C. Lethbridge, *Recent Excavations in Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries in Cambridgeshire and Suffolk*, Cambridge, 1931, fig. 14, p. 12.

[5] Brøndsted, *op. cit.* (1939), iii, 152.

[6] Cf. the two horns from Skrydstrup, Haderslev amt., Brøndsted, *loc. cit.* See also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 11, 126.

[7] W. W. Watts, *Catalogue of Chalices and other Communion Vessels in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1922, p. 14.

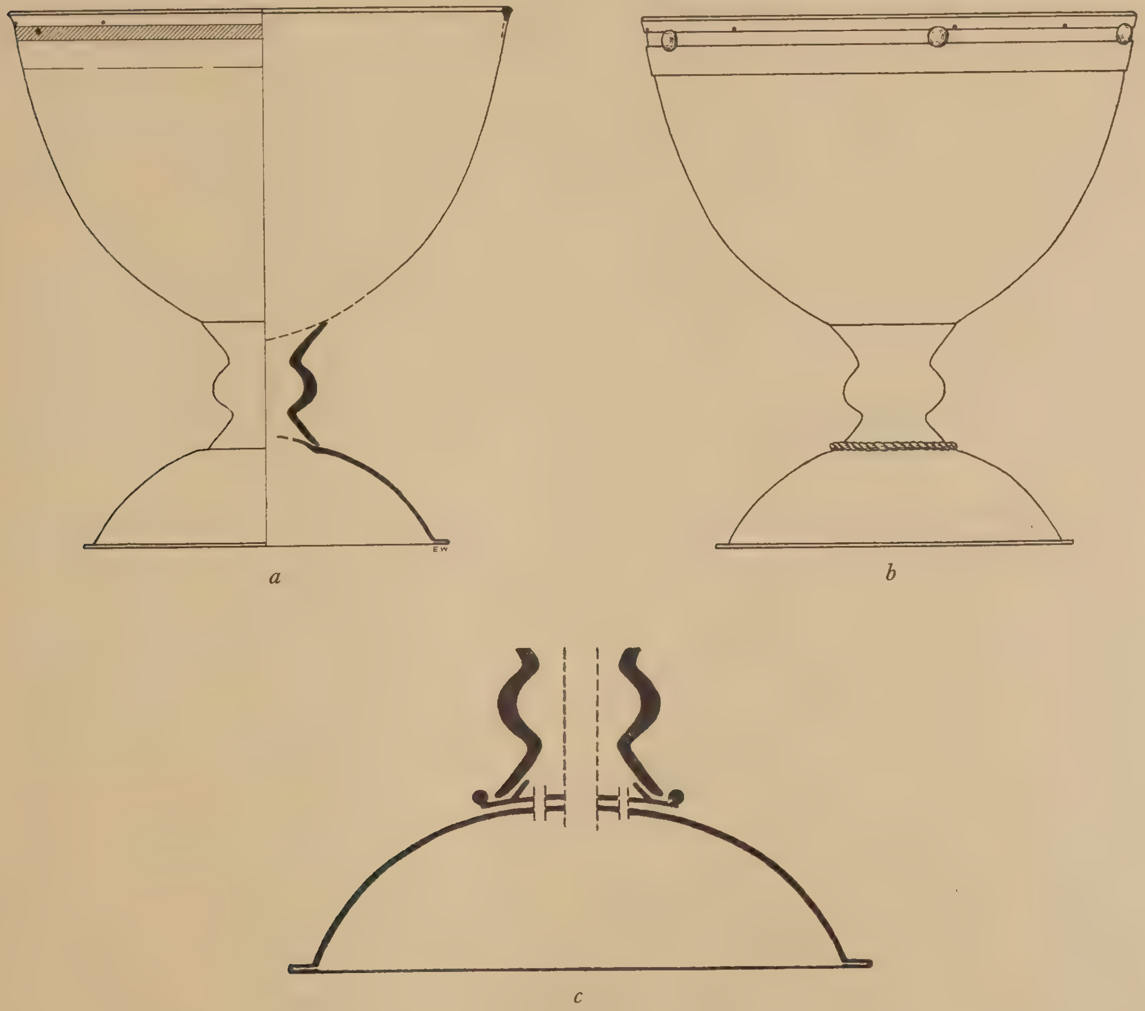


FIG. 3. The Trewhiddle Chalice; (*a*) present condition, (*b*) reconstruction, (*c*) sectional reconstruction of the foot.

For many years now it has been accepted that a pewter chalice found in a grave at Reading, and published as Anglo-Saxon by both Mr. Reginald Smith[1] and Professor Baldwin Brown,[2] dates from the earliest years of Christianity in England. This I think is not a tenable theory; there were no other associated finds with the burial, and the form of the chalice, and particularly of the knop, points to a thirteenth-century date.[3]

---

[1] *V.C.H. Berkshire*, i, 237–8.

[2] *Op. cit.* vol. iii, pl. XI, 3, p. 118.

[3] The chalice is no longer labelled as Anglo-Saxon by the Reading Museum as a result of discussions with the

Another Anglo-Saxon chalice is that from Hexham Abbey (pl. XXVIII, *a*). It was found in a stone coffin in the north transept of the church: it was at some time in the possession of the Rev. W. Featherstonehaugh who bought it at 'the sale of the late Dr. G. Charlton's effects'. It is smaller than the Trewhiddle chalice, being only 6·5 cm. in height and of heavily gilt bronze, but it is of closely related form. It was published as Romanesque[1] and is now in the possession of the Priory Church at Hexham. It has a hollow knop and is made in three pieces, foot, stem, and knop which are riveted together by a rivet passing through the three elements.

Another chalice which possibly dates from the Anglo-Saxon period is a lead funerary chalice from Hazleton, Gloucestershire, exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1942. But both the Hexham and the Hazleton chalices are small funerary or portable chalices and are very much smaller than the Trewhiddle example.

There are, of course, specific references in Anglo-Saxon documents to chalices in this period. Bishop Theored of London for instance leaves two chalices in his will[2] and in the law of the Northumbrian priests (probably 1020–3) the use of wooden chalices is forbidden.[3] Chalices are often illustrated in manuscripts, for example in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold[4] and in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 286, f. 125. For comparative archaeological material, however, we must, in the main, turn to the Continent.[5]

The greatest of all German chalices is that at Kremsmünster, made to the order of Duke Tassilo at the end of the ninth century. In his recent publication of this famous object Professor Haseloff has discussed the form of the chalice in the Carolingian world.[6] He separates the continental group, and particularly those examples from Kremsmünster, Petöhäza, and St. Martin des Champs,[7] from the Trewhiddle chalice. He disagrees with Pfeilstücker[8] on this point and bases his argument on the lowness of the foot and the distinct type of knop which is not known on the Continent; he says that it faintly resembles the continental examples. He does, however, admit that the material is small.

Illustrated in the original publication of the Trewhiddle hoard is a loose piece of silver, since lost, which 'very much resembles the silver top of a horse-whip'.[9] It

---

Department of British and Medieval Antiquities of the British Museum. For discussion of medieval funerary chalices of this shape compare H. F. Westlake, 'An Early Pewter Coffin-chalice and Paten found in Westminster Abbey', *Antiq. J.* i, 56 ff. It is probable that the similar chalice from Canterbury (in the Royal Museum, Canterbury) mentioned by both Smith and Baldwin Brown is also of thirteenth century. A chalice that may have been of earlier date than that from Trewhiddle is now lost. It was recorded as long ago as 1104 among the relics in St. Cuthbert's coffin (C. F. Battiscombe (ed.), *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, Oxford, 1956, p. 65). The date of this chalice is difficult to determine but it may well have been placed in the coffin-reliquary between 698 and 1104.

[1] W. Cripps, 'A Bronze Grave-Chalice from Hexham Priory Church', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xv (1890–93), 192; *New County History of Northumberland*, iii, pt. i, pp. 175–6. I am grateful to Mr. W. Bulmer for this latter reference.

[2] Whitelock, *op. cit.* pp. 2 and 4.

[3] *English Historical Documents* (ed. Whitelock), i, p. 436, 15, but this is one of many such ordinances of this period.

[4] F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St. Ethelwold*, London, 1959, pl. 8.

[5] We must in this context ignore the Irish chalice of an earlier period from Ardagh. It is of completely different form from that at Trewhiddle and the art style is not related to the contents of this hoard.

[6] *Der Tassilokelch*, München, 1951.

[7] P. Stollenmeyer, 'Der Tassilokelch', *Der Professoren Festschrift zum 400 jährigen Bestande des öffentlichen Obergymnasiums der Benediktiner zu Kremsmünster*, pp. 54–55.

[8] *Spätantikes und Germanisches Kunstgut in der Frühangelsächsischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1936, p. 195, who follows unconsciously, I believe, O. M. Dalton and others, e.g. *A Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities in the British Museum*, London, 1921, p. 108.

[9] Rashleigh, *Arch.* xi, *loc. cit.*

consisted of a circular plate, with three rivet holes in it, on to which was built, slightly inside the edge, a collar surrounded by a twisted silver wire.[1] This piece has since been overlooked and although we have no measurements of it, it would seem likely that it was part of the stem of the chalice. The correspondence of the holes in the base to the holes in the missing piece (seen clearly in the illustration, pl. XXVII, *a*) has been pointed out by Rashleigh and there is little room to doubt that this piece was attached between the knop and the base. The bottom of the bowl of the Trewhiddle chalice is missing, so it is not known whether there was a similar collar at the top of the knop. The method of reconstruction from the existing evidence is demonstrated in fig. 3 *b*.

If this reconstruction is correct it would seem that the base was riveted to the collar through the two side holes and that a central bar passed through the knop and the central hole and was riveted over underneath the foot and attached in some way to the bowl (fig. 3 *c*). The two side holes are useless for any purpose other than attaching the collar to the foot: the constriction of the knop is too narrow to allow rivets at the side to pass from top to bottom of the knop; this is demonstrated clearly in fig. 3 *c*. The possibility that the knop was soldered to both the foot and the bowl cannot be ruled out, but no trace of solder survives either inside the knop or on the bowl or foot. This is a hypothetical reconstruction but lacking the bottom of the bowl we can say no more.

This additional evidence brings the Trewhiddle chalice nearer to the continental form. The chalice at Hexham has a beaded collar at the top of the knop and many contemporary continental chalices have a beaded collar above, below, or both above and below the knop. Such chalices include those already mentioned from Kremsmünster, Petöhäza, and St. Martin des Champs, as well as others such as that associated with St. Chrodegand.[2] That such a feature continued into the early Middle Ages is illustrated by the chalice of Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg (d. 1042),[3] the chalice of Archbishop Poppo of Trier (d. 1045),[4] by the eleventh-century chalice from Skara, Sweden[5] (probably, on philological grounds, imported from Germany), and by the chalice from Canterbury[6] which dates from the twelfth century. Another twelfth-century chalice, from Alcobaca, Portugal,[7] indicates how widespread was this feature.

In form the knop and the foot of the Trewhiddle chalice are different from the Carolingian examples, but it is to be noted that the Trewhiddle chalice was of silver and hand-raised in three parts. Nearly all the other chalices from the Carolingian area, belonging to this period (that are known to us), are made in two parts, the foot and knop being made separately from the bowl. The different techniques used would perhaps in part account for the different shape of the chalices. If we accept the fact that the chalice was intended to be tall, it would be easier to attain height by the casting technique used so often on the Continent[1] than by the hand-raising technique necessary to make the bowl of the Trewhiddle chalice.

---

[1] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[2] Cabrol and Leclerq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne*, ii, Paris, 1925, fig. 1909. This chalice is now in the Dumbarton Oaks Museum, Harvard, U.S.A., *The Dumbarton Oaks Collection Handbook*, Washington, D.C., 1955, p. 64.

[3] E. Bassermann-Jordan and W. M. Schmid, *Der Bamberger Domschatz*, München, 1914, p. 27, fig. 29.

[4] C. G. Schultz, 'Jellingebaegeret—vor aeldste kristne kalk', *KUML*, ii, fig. 2, p. 190.

[5] H. Wideen, *Västsvenska Vikingatidsstudier*, Göteborg, 1955, fig. 158.

[6] C. J. Jackson, *History of English Plate*, London, 1911, i, fig. 128.

[7] Royal Academy of Arts, *Exhibition of Portuguese Art 800–1800*, London, 1955, p. 20, no. 11.

The Hexham chalice similarly is made in three pieces with a rivet passing through cup, knop, and foot. But parallels beyond that of general form between the Hexham and, say, the Tassilo chalice are invalidated on account of the size: the Hexham chalice is 6·5 cm. in height and the Tassilo chalice is 27 cm.

As far as we know there was no rigid uniformity enforced by law concerning the shape of chalices, and there is a considerable variation in the shape, construction, and date of the various pre-Romanesque chalices. It is impossible to speak of the typicality or otherwise of chalices of this period and any separation of the Anglo-Saxon chalices from the continental chalices can only be on the basis of subjective arguments.[2]

The rim of the bowl of the Trewhiddle chalice has puzzled people from the first day of the find. It has been pierced at irregular intervals, for rivets or pins (of which the shanks remain). There are two lines of rivets: one slightly above the rough top edge of the gilded band and the other within the gilded band (fig. 3 *a* and pl. XXV, *a*). The gap between the rim and the gilded band has already been pointed out. The most probable explanation of this gap is that originally a narrow silver band was applied beneath the flange of the rim and that this strip with the band, the flange and the interior of the bowl were gilded. Such being the case the applied strips could be attached by the upper line of rivets. The rough edge of gilding could then be explained by an uneven edge to the band, allowing the amalgam to penetrate the crack so formed.

The line of rivets within the gilded band and the inscribed line, some distance below the band, are less easy to explain. A tentative reconstruction is illustrated in fig. 3 *b*. In this reconstruction it is suggested that a further applied band was soldered into position between the gilded band and the inscribed line and that a series of dome-headed rivets, of which only the shanks now remain, retained the two bands in position. These two bands could perhaps be inscribed (inscriptions appear below the lip of the bowl on the St. Martin des Champs,[3] the Skara,[4] the St. Ludger chalice,[5] and the Chrodegand de Seez[6] chalices).

The Scourge

This is, as far as I know, the only surviving ceremonial[7] scourge of the Early Christian period in Europe. There can be little doubt that the object is a scourge. The fact that it is made of silver suggests that it was ceremonial in use; a symbol, perhaps, of the authority of the church. The ecclesiastical regulations regarding the use of the scourge during the Early Christian period in the Western and Eastern churches are discussed by Smith[1] and Cabrol:[2] they need not detain us here.

---

[1] For a discussion of the technique of the manufacture of the Tassilo Chalice see Stollenmeyer, *op. cit.* pp. 68 f.

[2] e.g. compare the chalice of Kolin, *Guide de l'exposition de la préhistoire aux slaves chèques*, Prague, 1948–9, cover, with the chalices illustrated by Stollenmeyer, *loc. cit.* pp. 54–55.

[3] Stollenmeyer, pp. 54–55.

[4] Wideen, *loc. cit.*

[5] C. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1883–9, vol. iv, p. ccxcv.

[6] Stollenmeyer, *loc. cit.*

[7] A bronze scourge of less substantial form and of Roman date is recorded from a Roman Villa at Great Chesterford, *Arch. J.* vi, 197. Another Roman Scourge of plaited wire is recorded, *Catalogue of the Guildhall Museum*, London, 1903, p. 55. Scourges of similar form to that from Trewhiddle are illustrated by Perret, *Les Catacombes de Rome*, vol. v, pl. IX, 18, and by Cabrol and Leclerq, *op. cit.* fig. 2729.

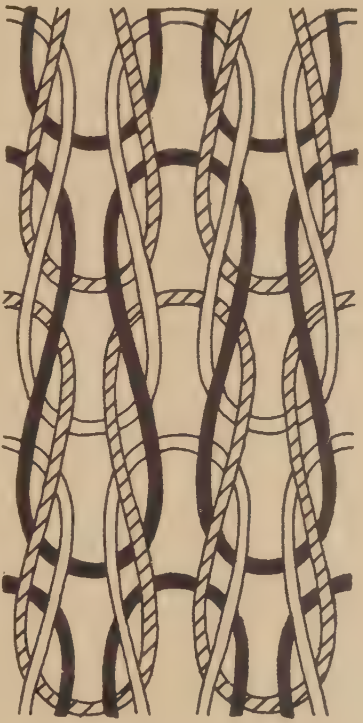


Fig. 4. Trichinopoly chainwork.

The chainwork of the scourge is manufactured in the Trichinoply technique, a method of circular plaiting (known as tatting) still in use among school-children in England. The chain is plaited on nails through a hole bored in a piece of wood; the resulting pattern is illustrated in fig. 4. This type of chain was popular in the Byzantine world, and must ultimately derive from Mediterranean Greece of the first millenium B.C. In northern Europe it is not very common. A similar chain of gold was found at Isenbüttel, Lower Saxony, and is now in a private collection in north Germany.[3] In the British Isles this type of chain rarely occurs; but it can be seen attached to the Tara brooch[4] and in the great hoard from Croy.[5] A series of flat silver chains, e.g. from the Cuerdale hoard[6] and the Ballinaby graves,[7] bear a striking resemblance to the chain under discussion; indeed Smith[8] has even suggested that the Ballinaby chain was part of a scourge, mainly on the basis of two terminal knots of a construction similar to those on the Trewhiddle scourge. It is perhaps best to treat this suggestion with some reserve.

The Trewhiddle scourge was evidently not attached to a handle: it could be used quite effectively as it stands. The ends are unworn and there is no sign of any stitching through the weave of the chain: the bead, if in its original position, would have been a sufficient stop for a firm grip. We seem to have here the complete object, although the possibility that the bead is secondary cannot be ruled out.

The Bead

This is the only dated bead of the late Saxon period. It is in fact the only accurately dated bead from the period between the end of the Roman occupation and the twelfth century.

The Lost Gold Pendant

This pendant presents us with many problems: it is a well-known piece and has been discussed at some length by Friis-Johansen[1] and Arbman.[2] It belongs to a largish group of similar pendants of which the greater number have been found in Scandinavia. Indeed, although we have reason to believe that this pendant is of English manufacture, it is difficult to parallel it save in Scandinavia. English finds of pendants of this type are rare and one cannot be sure either of their age or their place of manufacture (cf. the High Wycombe pendant[3]).

---

[1] W. Smith and S. Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, London, 1880, p. 568.

[2] Cabrol and Leclerq, *op. cit.* p. 1219.

[3] G. Arwidsson, *Vendelstile*, Uppsala, 1942, fig. 114; W. A. von Jenny, *Die Kunst der Germanen in Frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1940, pl. LXXVI; H. Potratz, 'Die Goldene Halskette von Isenbüttel', *IPEK*, 17, 1943–8.

[4] A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, i, Dublin, 1932, p. 15.

[5] A. Ross, 'Notice of the Discovery of Portions of Two Penannular Brooches of Silver . . . at Croy, Inverness', *P.S.A. Scot.* xx, fig. 5.

[6] E. Hawkins, 'An Account of Coins and Treasure found at Cuerdale', *Arch. J.* iv, 129.

[7] J. Anderson, *Scotland in Pagan Times, The Iron Age*, Edinburgh, 1883, fig. 23.

[8] *Op. cit.* (1904), pp. 50 f.

As far as can be seen from the illustrations which survive (pl. XXVII, *b*), and they seem reasonably accurate, the filigree decoration is carried out in the twisted-wire technique, one of the six filigree techniques defined by Arbman.[4] This is the commonest technique of the period and seems to have been in general use throughout the Carolingian Empire and north-west Europe: it is to be seen, for instance, many times on pendants from the Birka cemetery, while the pendant found in Birka, grave 943, provides us with the nearest parallel in design to that of the Trewhiddle pendant.[5] The Birka 943 pendant is smaller than the Trewhiddle pendant and is executed in a slightly different technique, but the basic design of connected spirals is exactly the same, the small annulets that appear in the empty parts of the field are replaced by small beads but it otherwise provides a close parallel: a similar design was copied in solid bronze in a pendant from Birka, grave 639.[6] Arbman has come to the conclusion that differences in filigree technique can tell us little, and indeed when we look at the few finds of filigree work in England we are only the more confused as all the different techniques catalogued by him seem to be represented. On the brooch from Kirkoswald, for instance, at least three of the techniques are present at once and, as Arbman has pointed out, all the different techniques are seen on the many objects in the Hon find.

It is very difficult then to state any definite opinion concerning the country of origin of any particular piece. Mr. Bruce-Mitford's recent statement that the large pendant from the Hon hoard is English deserves I think closer examination than that made *en passant* in a paper on a different subject[7] (many of the decorative features that occur on the Hon pendant are to be seen on the Trewhiddle pendant; the connected spirals, the small beaded circles, and reserved central space). The arguments that this object is English are based on two points, the technical and the art-historical. In this case I think that it is the art-historical arguments that carry the greatest weight, as all the features that Mr. Bruce-Mitford mentions in his technical discussion are paralleled in filigree work found outside England, and presumed to be of Carolingian workmanship. Mr. Bruce-Mitford has pointed out that the layout of the pendant provides a very good parallel to the Strickland brooch. The small animal heads, which occur on the pendant, are often to be seen in Late Saxon art, both in the metalwork, as on some forty strap-ends, and in the Canterbury school of manuscripts (e.g. the

---

[1] K. Friis-Johansen, 'Solvskatten fra Terslev,' *Aarbøger*, 1912, p. 240.

[2] H. Arbman, *Schweden und das Karolingische Reich*, Stockholm, 1937, pp. 203 f.

[3] *V.C.H. Buckinghamshire*, i, 195; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Art in the Dark Ages in Europe*, London, 1956, pl. XVI, p. 28; R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'An Anglo-Saxon Gold Pendant from High Wycombe, Bucks.', *British Museum Quarterly*, xv, 72, pl. XXXIII, *c*.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 180.

[5] *Ibid.* pl. 61, 1 and pl. 62, 7.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. 62, 16.

[7] R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Saxon Disc-Brooches', *Dark Age Britain* (*Studies presented to E. T. Leeds*), London, 1956, p. 192.

Stockholm *Codex Aureus*), as well as in the various particular cases mentioned by Mr. Bruce-Mitford. The ears of the animal masks are of particular interest, which are of a scroll shape very common in Anglo-Saxon England[1] and rare, if not unknown, elsewhere. This sort of mask is occasionally found on the Continent, for instance on the pommel of a sword from the Seine (which is also decorated with filigree);[2] but as this sword is probably not Frankish, and as the animal ornament and the layout of the Hon pendant are so close to various English parallels, there is little doubt that the pendant is indeed English. Other objects decorated with filigree, of undoubtedly English manufacture, are the Alfred and Minster Lovel jewels[3] which have a small amount of filigree work on them, although most of the decoration is carried out in the granulation technique. There can be little real doubt that the former at least was made for Alfred in England. Another object that can probably be described as of English manufacture is the sword-pommel from Windsor;[4] leaving aside all other details of the ornament the animal heads that terminate the thicker, plain strand of wire on this plate are so typically English that it seems most probable that the piece was made in England. These objects, with Ehlla's[5] ring, the recently found but as yet unpublished King's School, Canterbury, brooch, and certain other minor details on larger ornaments, are the only ones with filigree decoration that can be assigned on art-historical, or historical, grounds alone to England. There is no evidence other than presumption based on geography that other filigree ornaments found in England are of English manufacture. This appears to be especially true when we are faced with the enormous mass of material found in Scandinavia and presumed to be of continental origin. Haseloff[6] has argued that certain brooches and pendants, those from Mosnaes, Norway, Kirkoswald, Cumberland, Terslev, Denmark, and Hauge, Norway, are of English origin. As only one of the objects which he describes has been found in England there is no prima facie presumption on geographical grounds that the objects are English. Professor Haseloff has described these objects as English on the basis of the identification of an open-work mount from Whitby as of eighth-century date. Mr. P. E. Lasko and the writer will argue elsewhere that this identification is not correct and that the mount is, in fact, medieval.[7] If this is so the keystone of Professor Haseloff's argument, as built up in his paper, is removed. This does not in itself deny the possibility that there are other objects of filigree made in England during the ninth century.

Filigree techniques were, of course, used by the Celtic craftsmen of the Hiberno-Saxon area. Indeed some of the closest parallels in design to the Trewhiddle pendant occur in Celtic sources. Among the many parallels that could be quoted is that provided by the stud of a penannular brooch from Co. Cavan in Ireland.[8] The

---

[1] They occur, for example, at Trewhiddle on the plastic terminal heads of the drinking-horn mounts.

[2] British Museum, *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, fig. 205.

[3] J. Kirk, *The Alfred and Minster Lovel Jewels*, Oxford, 1948.

[4] J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, London/Copenhagen, 1924, fig. 118.

[5] R. Jessup, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery*, London, 1905, pl. XXXVI, 10.

[6] G. Haseloff, 'An Anglo-Saxon Openwork Mount from Whitby Abbey', *Antiq. J.* XXX, 177.

[7] Since this paper was written the Whitby mount has been published as late Romanesque: G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture*, London, 1957, p. 42 and pl. 81.

[8] A. Mahr, *op. cit.* i, pl. XXII, 1. Since I wrote this paper W. Holmqvist, 'The Syllöda silver pin—an English

Cavan and Tara brooches, and the other Celtic objects which have similar filigree designs, were all probably manufactured in the late seventh or early eighth century and are, therefore, considerably older than the date of deposition of the pendant. Further, the filigree is of a much finer quality than that of the Trewhiddle pendant. Lastly, it is important to realize that filigree is rare in Irish contexts in the late eighth and ninth centuries. Although it is impossible to make any definite statement it is extremely unlikely that the Trewhiddle pendant was of Celtic manufacture. It is possible, however, that the well-developed pagan Anglo-Saxon filigree tradition was taken over by Celtic craftsmen in the late seventh century and passed on to their Christian Anglo-Saxon contemporaries in the late eighth century. Such an explanation would explain the apparent gap in the history of Anglo-Saxon filigree techniques.

It seems possible therefore that, despite the apparent parallels of the Trewhiddle pendant to similar objects in Scandinavia (usually described as Carolingian), the pendant could have been manufactured in England. But the muddled nature of the evidence demonstrates that little can be settled in this matter until the subject of Carolingian filigree ornament has been thoroughly reinvestigated from the art-historical, as well as from the technical, point of view.

The Finger-Rings

The missing finger-rings are of unusual type.[1] Anglo-Saxon finger-rings of silver are uncommon: the only other silver finger-ring of the late Saxon period, with what Oman calls 'any artistic pretensions', is the ring from the Thames at Chelsea[2] (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)—it is of silver-gilt. Other silver rings of this period are known but they are all of a coarser nature and are often influenced by Viking styles. The two Trewhiddle rings are of a form unparalleled in contemporary sources, although the chunky character of the faceted ring would be very acceptable to the Anglo-Saxon mind—an extreme application of this chunkiness can be seen in the Bologna ring.[3] The rings appear to be nielloed—a fairly common technical feature in the Christian period, cf., for example, the Bologna, Ethelswith,[4] and Ethelwulf[5] rings.

The Small Gold Ingot

This object, described and illustrated in the original report, is meaningless. It is not impossible that it was attached to the chalice in some manner—but speculation is vain.

The Box-like Object

The use of this object is also unknown; the inscribed cross may suggest an ecclesias-

---

element in the art of the Viking Age', *Suomen Museo*, 1959, pp. 34–63, has drawn attention to the various Celtic parallels to the Trewhiddle pendant. While I cannot agree with all the steps of Dr. Holmqvist's arguments concerning a school of English filigree, I concur with many of his conclusions.

[1] Anglo-Saxon finger-rings are discussed and listed by C. C. Oman, 'Anglo-Saxon Finger-rings', *Apollo*, xiv, 1931, p. 104, and more selectively with a number of further examples by D. M. Wilson, 'The Poslingford Ring', *British Museum Quarterly*, xx, 90 f.

[2] Jessup, *op. cit.* pl. XXXVI, 6. Another silver finger-ring of this period is now lost; it had an Anglo-Saxon inscription and is recorded in *Journ. of the British Archaeological Assoc.* 1851, p. 153, and G. Stevens, *Runic Monuments*, London/Copenhagen, i, 1866–7, p. 463.

[3] Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.* (1956), pl. XXII, B, C, and D.

[4] O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger-Rings in the British Museum*, London, 1912, pl. II, 180.

[5] *Ibid., loc. cit.* 179.

tical use, especially since it is found with a chalice and scourge. The object is termed 'box' for convenience of reference only and, in the absence of a base, it seems just as probable that it is the mount from the end of a stick, as was hinted at in the past. Reginald Smith[1] was of the opinion that it may have been the mount for the point of the horn of which the curved mounts, decorated in the same style, were ornaments. This seems unlikely, as no other horn terminal of this shape is known from any period or any country, but none of these points can be proved or disproved.

The presence of rivet holes (in both 'box' and 'lid'), with undecorated areas encircling them, would suggest that the 'box' and its 'lid' were attached to their base by means of dome-headed rivets. The animal and other ornament will be dealt with below, but it is worth while drawing a parallel between this cross and that on the central figure of the Fuller Brooch,[2] which has the same treatment of the terminals.

The Decorated Strap-ends

These objects are of a well-known type. The earliest examples of this shape occur in the pagan Saxon period[3] as at Malton Farm, Barrington, Cambs.[4] They are, however, more common in the later Saxon period. The largest associated body of these objects was found at Whitby, fourteen of which are described and illustrated.[5] But they occur in many places throughout England, Wales, and Scotland and as far away as Östebo, Sandeid, Vikedal, Norway.[6] Altogether about eighty are known (see Appendix C, p. 120). A discussion of their use occurs in the Whitby publication, where it is suggested that they should be 'disassociated from the normal type of strap-end which forms part of the costume'. It was suggested that they were ends of silk ribbons used as book-markers. This seems a reasonable theory, and might well be so in the case of strap-ends in a hoard in which there is an ecclesiastical element, as Trewhiddle. The large number of these objects which have been found, scattered so widely throughout mainland Britain in both the pagan and Christian periods, would suggest that they may have had a more common application as girdle ends. As has been pointed out,[7] the opening in the split-ends of these objects is so thin that they could not carry a leather strap, but rather a silk ribbon. But these are not the only objects which have such a small size and such a thin attachment. In numerous graves of the pagan period there are very small buckles with extremely thin-plate openings[8] which are often found to retain cloth, or the impression of cloth on the inside of the plate. We cannot tell how late these small buckles survived in the Anglo-Saxon period but the small buckle in this hoard would seem to indicate that they continued well down into the Christian period. If this is indeed the case it would seem not impossible that these small tags could be attached (in some cases in pairs) to a belt or girdle. In Scandinavia we have evidence from the graves at Birka that similar tags were worn as pendants to belts; they occur in many graves in association with buckles.[1] We have no real information as to what form such a girdle might take: the dress illustrated in the manuscripts of the Late Saxon period is stylized and mainly ecclesiastical in character and this usually useful body of evidence is of little use to us here.

---

[1] *Loc. cit.* (1904), p. 51.

[2] Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.* (1956), pl. xx.

[3] The prototypes are those from Holywell Row, grave 52, T. C. Lethbridge, *op. cit.* (1931), fig. 17c, 4; and Shudy Camps, grave 57, T. C. Lethbridge, *A Cemetery at Shudy Hill Camps, Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 19. Another example of a more typical pagan type can be seen in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology from the cemetery at Barrington, Trinity College Loan. This despite the statement by C. Peers and C. A. Ralegh Radford, 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Archaeologia*, lxxxix, p. 55. One example is alleged to have been found with Roman coins in George St., Gloucester (information from a manuscript note in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, British Museum).

[4] British Museum.

[5] Peers and Radford, *loc. cit.* fig. 11, 56 f.

[6] Shetelig, *op. cit.* v, 182, fig. 147.

[7] Peers and Radford, *loc. cit.* p. 55.

[8] For example, the small buckle from the Sutton Hoo cenotaph, British Museum, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, pl. 20 *c*.

The faceting of the terminals of the Trewhiddle mounts is reminiscent of the usual, stylized, plastic animal head found on many of the strap-ends quoted in Appendix C.

The Strap-ends and Slides

These objects are without parallel in England and, being heavier than the average strap-end of the type described above, were intended as terminals for a leather strap (the leather actually surviving in one of them) and not for one of fabric. The slides form a set with the strap-ends and presumably act in place of a buckle: the strap being kept in place by its own weight and the weight of the strap-end. The use of the strap is difficult to envisage. A close parallel is provided for the strap-ends at Birka.[2]

The Buckle

The buckle is of a type that persists from the pagan Saxon to the medieval period.[3] It may have been used in conjunction with the decorated strap-ends, but the fact that it is of base metal, while the others are of nielloed silver, makes this seem unlikely. The hoard was no doubt originally buried in some sort of container, and as the buckle is the only base-metal object in the hoard it may have belonged to such a container and not to the hoard proper.

The Pin

The pin belongs to the class which Reginald Smith designated 'hand pins'.[4] It appears to be the only metal example, ornamented in the Late Saxon style, of its class.

The Brooch

The penannular brooch series in the British Isles has not been studied comprehensively since Smith's classic paper[5] of 1914. In the forty years that have passed since this paper was written more brooches of the type have been discovered and a considerable amount of discussion has taken place concerning the whole series; but as yet no coherent survey of the material has replaced Smith's work.

---

[1] H. Arbman, *Birka I, Die Gräber*, Uppsala, 1940, pl. 87 and 86.

[2] *Ibid.* pl. 88, 1. Dr. A. Roes, of Utrecht, tells me that the nicks which appear on these strap-ends have Dutch parallels; she has, however, been unable to trace these parallels among her notes.

[3] To compare this buckle with contemporary examples see A. Hume, *Ancient Meols*, London, 1863, pl. VIII, 6 and *V.C.H. Cambs.* i, pl. XII, p. 322.

[4] R. A. Smith, 'The Evolution of the Hand-pin in Great Britain and Ireland', *Opuscula Archaeologica Oscari Montelio*, Stockholm, 1913, p. 281. Smaller pins with heads of similar shape occur at Thetford and Sandtun, Kent, in Late Saxon Contexts (former in Norwich Castle Museum, latter in British Museum).

[5] R. A. Smith, 'Irish Brooches of Five Centuries', *Archaeologia*, lxv, 1914, pp. 223 f.

The parallels which Smith drew with the Trewhiddle brooch still hold good, the best parallel being the brooch from Tralee.[1] Smith points out that the sunken lozenge-shaped fields on the terminals seem to be a popular feature in ninth-century penannular brooches,[2] occurring, for instance, on brooches from Ardagh,[3] Tara,[4] Killucan,[5] and Killarney.[6]

The Trewhiddle brooch could have been made either in Ireland or north Britain,[7] it is impossible to say which. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the penannular brooch series in the British Isles; it can only be stated that this brooch may provide a convenient dating point in future studies of the series.

THE ANIMAL ORNAMENT

The animal ornament of the Trewhiddle mounts is a focal point in the study of Anglo-Saxon art. Brøndsted recognized its great art-historical importance by naming the style of the period the 'Trewhiddle style'.[8]

Available for comparison in the study of this ornament is the work of the metalworker, scribe, and sculptor. As we are dealing in this instance with metalwork we must I think take the greatest notice of the parallels in metalwork and to do this we must go back to a starting point in the pagan Saxon period. The Anglo-Saxon artist of the pagan period was not a sculptor or scribe but a metalworker; he found his expression in jewellery and not in book illumination or monumental sculpture, which were arts imported with Christianity during the seventh century. The pectoral cross of St. Cuthbert and other jewelled crosses of the seventh century[9] convincingly demonstrate that the Anglo-Saxon metalworker's art did not suffer under Christian influence. The continuous tradition of Anglo-Saxon art has often been neglected. This neglect is partly due to the terms of reference of Salin's great work *Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik*[10] which limits itself by its sub-title to the period up to the eighth century. Many of the scholars who have followed Salin have been subconsciously influenced by him and confined themselves to his period. In this they have, with few exceptions,[11] neglected the continuity of Anglo-Saxon art and, instead of tackling the metalwork after the end of the pagan Anglo-Saxon period, have tackled the greater body of evidence provided by the manuscripts and the monumental sculpture.

The reason for this neglect is that the body of material is not very great. But in recent years our knowledge of the material has increased steadily. For instance in a recent paper on Late Saxon disc-brooches,[1] twelve brooches were discussed, only three of which were known to Brøndsted in 1924 and five to Kendrick in 1938 (since this paper was written a further disc brooch was found in the grounds of the King's School at Canterbury). The new knowledge gained by the study of these brooches has helped considerably in our overall impression of the metalwork of the Christian period. Further, the recent recognition of the Källby horse trappings (pl. XL) as Anglo-Saxon[2] enables us to widen our view of Late Saxon metalwork in relation to the technique of chip-carving.

---

[1] *Ibid.* pl. XXVI, 5. Further parallels are provided by Dr. Simpson: *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, 1952–3, p. 194.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 238.

[3] A. Mahr, *Christian Art in Ancient Ireland*, i, Dublin, 1932, pl. LVI.

[4] Smith, *op. cit.* (1914), pl. XXVI, 7.

[5] *Ibid.* fig. 11.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. XXVII.

[7] This is especially true when we consider the geographical position of the fragments of moulds of similar pattern from Rockcliffe Dalbeattie, Kirkcudbrightshire, *P.S.A. Scot.* xlviii, 144 f. See also D. M. Wilson, 'Two Plates from a Late Saxon Casket', *Antiq. J.* xxvi, 1956, p. 31.

[8] J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, Copenhagen/London, 1924 *passim*.

[9] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, London, 1938, pl. XXXIV, 3 and 4.

[10] Stockholm, 1904.

[11] The outstanding exceptions are Brøndsted and Kendrick, but even in recent years Salin's influence is to be seen in the work of Dr. W. Holmqvist, who, in his book *Germanic Art*, Stockholm, 1955, unconsciously confines himself to Salin's limits with regard to the British Isles.

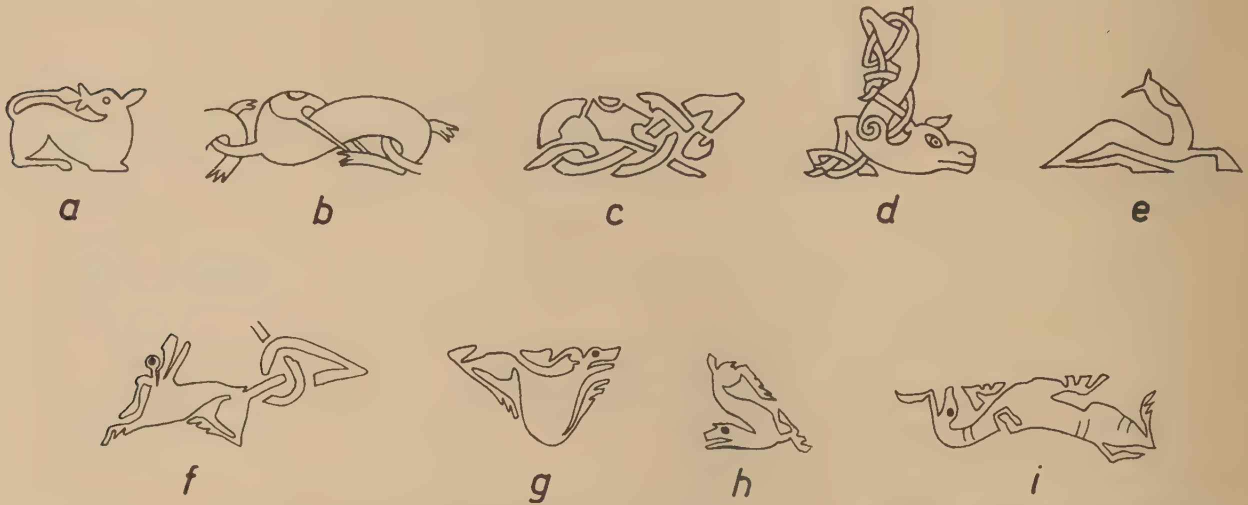


Fig. 5. Anglo-Saxon animal ornament, fifth–ninth centuries. (*a*) Bidford-on-Avon, Warwicks., impressed bronze plaque from bucket; (*b*) pattern on the back of a brooch from Faversham, Kent; (*c*) from one of the Sutton Hoo shoulder-clasps; (*d*) from the Lindisfarne Gospels; (*e*) from horse-trappings from Källby, Sweden; (*f–i*) from the Trewhiddle hoard.

If we look at the animal ornament on the metalwork of any period between 450 and 950 we can see the same traditions at work. The animal on the Faversham brooch (fig. 5*b*), the animal on the Sutton Hoo clasps (fig. 5*c*), and the animal on the horse-trappings from Källby (fig. 5*e*), are in a sequence that leads up to Trewhiddle and beyond it.

Although one can argue that the tradition of the metalworker's art continued despite advances both in the art of the manuscripts and the monumental sculpture, it is not, owing to lack of material, susceptible to proof. The lack of material was responsible for the theory of Brøndsted, since accepted, that the art of the Trewhiddle animals, what he called 'The Trewhiddle Style', was derived from the art of the Merovingian manuscripts. To do this he drew the justified parallel between the Canterbury[3] group of manuscripts (of which the classic example is British Museum, Royal I.E. VI) and the art of Trewhiddle; the parallel between the Canterbury School and the art of the Merovingian manuscripts of the group typified by *Sacra-*

---

[1] R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.* (1956), p. 171.

[2] D. M. Wilson, 'An Early Viking Age Grave from Källby, Lund, Sweden', *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum*, 1955, figs. 2 and 3.

[3] I am ignoring in this context a paper, by S. M. Kuhn, *Speculum*, 23, 1948, which attempts to transfer the manuscripts of this group from Canterbury to Lichfield.

mentarium Gelasianum is perhaps justified in certain details but not as a whole.[1] The animal in the rectangular panel Royal I.E. VI, fol. 4*a*, for example,[2] is certainly not in a Frankish but in an English tradition.

It cannot be held, on the present evidence, that the animal of the Canterbury/Lichfield School of ornament is derived from the Merovingian animal ornament. Indeed the animals quoted by Brøndsted, presumably the best possible parallels, are so clumsy in their execution that the sensitive Anglo-Saxon artist would probably have eschewed them.

This, however, is not the place in which we can put this manuscript evidence to the test: I am neither qualified nor willing to do it. The manuscript evidence can, however, be used, as it has been in the past, as comparative evidence and here I shall use it frequently, but its use is limited. The sculptural evidence must be used in a similar way.[3]

The following are the problems that concern us in our study:

The first is that of the origin of the animal ornament used in the hoard.

The second concerns the various differences between the animal ornament to be seen in the hoard itself, and the reasons for this and our interpretation of them.

Thirdly we must try to fit these ornaments into the framework of Late Saxon metalwork, at the same time relating them to the Christian ornamental metalwork of this period.

Various minor questions will arise which will fit more or less broadly into the framework sketched above.

I have already more than hinted that the origin of the art of the Trewhiddle animals is to be found in the pagan Anglo-Saxon metalwork, but such a suggestion needs a more reasoned and balanced argument. Both Professor Brøndsted and Sir Thomas Kendrick have argued for an origin in continental animal ornament.

We have one definitely dated piece of eighth-century metalwork of continental manufacture and that is the Tassilo Chalice made for the Abbey at Kremsmünster between 777 and 788 at the order of Duke Tassilo. The recent study of this object by Professor Haseloff has convincingly argued that the Tassilo Chalice was made, probably by an Anglo-Saxon trained metalworker, on the Continent. Similar metalwork on the Continent has been discussed by Professor Haseloff and his argument that such objects as the Dorestadt strap-end[4] are of continental manufacture must stand. The origin of this style appears to be English. With few exceptions the continental animal ornament of the Merovingian period is extremely crude;[1] and it is impossible to derive the ornament of the Dorestadt strap-end style from Merovingian roots. Merovingian France was troubled by wars and revolts, and the words of Åberg perhaps illuminate this fact for us most clearly:

---

[1] Brøndsted, *op. cit.* (1924). It is probable that Brøndsted felt slightly uneasy concerning this direct derivation for on p. 100 he writes (of the Canterbury school of manuscripts) 'animals partly of Frankish/Merovingian partly of North English extraction'. In other places as on pp. 104 and 305 he takes it for granted that the English animals come from France. Kendrick follows Brøndsted's arguments in a similar manner.

[2] Brøndsted, *op. cit.* fig. 100.

[3] B. Almgren, *Bronsnycklar och Djurornamentik*, Uppsala, 1955, p. 8, has pointed out the difficulty of comparing metalwork and woodwork with sculpture and manuscripts. '. . . Dessutom försvåras den rent konstarkeologiska jämförelsen onekligen av det faktum, att vad som är bevarat av samtida västeuropeiskt konsthantverk ofta är utfört i ett helt annat material och i an annan teknik än det nordiska. Man tvingas därför i många fall jämföra nordiska arbeten i metall och trä med bokmålning och stenskulptur från Västeuropa och det är icke utrett, vilka nackdelar detta medför.'

[4] Haseloff, *op. cit.* (1951), pl. 15, 4. Haseloff's opinions have been confirmed and strengthened by J. Werner, 'Frühkarolingische Silberohrringe von Rastede (Oldenburg). Beiträge zur Tierornamentik des Tassilokelches und verwandter Denkmäler', *Germania*, xxxvii, 179–92.

> The fact that the Frankish mission to England was superseded by the English mission on the Continent is unmistakable evidence of the calm and continuous development of culture in England, and of the great disturbances in the Frankish development during the final chaotic phase of the Merovingian Empire.[2]

The extension of this mission by Boniface (Wynfrith), in the eighth century, and the production of works of art there which imitate English schools (e.g. the Tassilo Chalice), is sufficient argument that the late seventh and early eighth centuries in the Frankish area were fairly barren of artistic production of their own native tradition. The art of England was probably influenced to a certain extent by the schools of art that grew up as a result of the Anglo-Saxon missions to the Continent but the influence is not so strong (as shown by the animal ornament at least) that we can point to one feature and say that it is a continental ornamental motif.

Discussion of Coptic and Lombardic influences in the art of the eighth and ninth centuries is of little importance to us here. The connexions, where they appear, are rare and, in metalwork, probably secondary. Influences from the Mediterranean, which are fairly common in the manuscripts and monumental sculpture, are not entirely absent from the metalwork. The vine scroll, for instance, appears on the well-known Ormside bowl,[3] the Kirkoswald brooch,[4] the Windsor sword pommel,[5] and the Rupert Cross.[6] It even makes itself felt on one of the Trewhiddle mounts, where an animal head terminating a leafed stem is perhaps a degenerate version of the inhabited vine scroll (fig. 1 *b*).

There are striking similarities between the art of Trewhiddle and Irish art of the same period.[7] But no one, in all the heat of nationalistic feeling on this subject, has ever suggested that the art of Trewhiddle was influenced by Irish art. While it cannot be denied that certain Celtic traditions influenced Anglo-Saxon art in the seventh and early eighth centuries, these traditions do not affect our arguments here and the connexion with Ireland, therefore, need only be mentioned in passing.

Sir Thomas Kendrick was the first to demonstrate the continuous tradition of Anglo-Saxon animal ornament from the end of Roman Britain to the pagan period. Throughout the pagan Anglo-Saxon period, right up to the great burial of Sutton Hoo (securely dated to the middle of the seventh century), we can trace the Anglo-Saxon metalworker's preoccupation with animal ornament. After the burial of Sutton Hoo we have less material, on a poorer chronological basis, and it is difficult to trace accurately the course of Anglo-Saxon animal ornament from the end of the seventh century to the Conquest. But the general similarity in design and feeling of the animals, illustrated in fig. 5, where animal ornament of the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries is set out, shows more forcibly than words that the tradition is continuous. The Anglo-Saxon metalworker of the pagan period became, after conversion, a Christian metalworker, but no artist can easily forget the traditions and training of his past, and it is reasonable to suppose that the love of animal ornament, so strong in the Anglo-Saxon metalworker of the pagan period, would not die out overnight because of a change in religion which may well have been merely convenient and politic to the new convert. No diagram so convincing as this could be constructed to prove the continental origin of the Trewhiddle style.

---

[1] It is only in such crafts as damascening that the Merovingian metalworker was supreme.

[2] Åberg, *The Occident and the Orient in the Seventh Century*, Stockholm, 1947, p. 25.

[3] Kendrick, *op. cit.* pl. LX.

[4] *Ibid.* pl. LXXVIII, 3.

[5] Brøndsted, *op. cit.* (1924), fig. 118.

[6] W. Jenny, 'Das sogenannte Rupertus-Kreuz in Bischofshofen', *Arte del Primo millenio*, Turin, n.d., pl. 232–37.

[7] See, for example, M. McDermott (M. le Paor), 'The Kells Crozier', *Arch.* xcvi figs. *passim* and (for a discussion of the problem) pp. 84 f.

It is most probable, then, that the animal art of the Trewhiddle mounts is of English native tradition, only slightly affected by foreign influences either from the Mediterranean, the Merovingian Empire or the Celtic world. That this is not surprising has been emphasized above in our recognition of the central cultural position of England in the eighth and early ninth centuries. In rejecting Brøndsted's original proposition we are helped by the large body of new material that has come to light since the publication of his book in 1924.

The hoard is divided into three groups by the ornament on the objects. The first, and the largest, group consists of the two larger horn mounts, the strap-ends, and the small box. The minor discrepancies in detail between the ornament of the different objects are due to the different scales on which the motifs are reproduced; there is a great difference, for instance, between the size of the fields on the large mount and those on the box. It is on these objects that the typical Trewhiddle animal appears: the animal is speckled and has a square snout, a sub-triangular body, a shaped hip, and weak legs with three toes; the eye is either attached to its socket by a 'string', or placed in the head with a noticeable bump over it. All the objects in this group were presumably made by the same hand.

The ornament of the pinhead is distinct from that of the first group of objects: it is arranged in a logical and ordered manner; fields of like motifs alternate with each other, symmetry is cared for, and the animals fill the space provided with an ease which results in less exuberance. One field contains a completely geometrical figure. The speckling is applied with a lighter hand, and the animals' bodies are secondary in design to the heads, with their emphasized mouths and upper lips, their large eyes and more formalized aspect. There is also one field unparalleled in Late Saxon art with what might be described as a whirling floral motif. The difference between the art of the pinhead and that of the larger mounts is most striking. The delicate quality of the work on the pinhead suggests a master of equal skill to the man who made the two large mounts. It is not impossible that the difference could be compassed by one man in his lifetime, and this would seem to be just as probable as that the pin was decorated by another hand, perhaps in the same workshop.

The third group of ornament is provided by the small mount: the animal ornament here is different again from either of the first two groups, the animal is more elongated and delicate than the other animals, all four legs are visible and are executed in a most elegant fashion, it is given roundness by means of the double nicks at the edges of the body, a feature that is repeated on the leaf ornament. The absence of speckling is a most noticeable feature. The designer of this mount included a rivet-hole in the design in such a manner as not to interfere with the decorated fields. The less tortuous style of the shorter strip may be in part due to the shape and full availability of the fields. The whole feeling and form of the ornament here are suggestive of a different workshop and yet the shape of the mount, so similar to that of the larger ones, argues for knowledge at least of the others. It is possible, although this cannot be postulated with any certainty, that the third mount is a repair or an added embellishment of the horn at a later date and by a different hand. It is difficult to see any other reason for this, so noticeable, difference.

We cannot assess the place of Trewhiddle in Anglo-Saxon decorative art without considering relative chronology. But first we must review the parallels of the art style.

An important feature of the Trewhiddle series is the tendency to divide the area for decoration up into small fields. The fields are often divided by a beaded border and in each field is a small motif, usually of animal form. This is a feature that appears elsewhere in the metalwork of Christian Saxon England. It appears for instance on the silver pommel and guard mounts of a series of swords, from Abingdon,[1] the River Witham,[2] Wensley,[3] and Westmorland;[4] certain swords of the same style of decoration have been found abroad at Gronneberg,[5] Dolven,[6] Hoven,[7] and Kaupang[8] in Norway and Knafahólar, Keldur, Iceland.[9] All these swords, or fragments of swords, have the fields divided up in roughly the same manner as those on the Trewhiddle mounts, usually, though not universally, with a beaded border. Other ornamented objects are also divided up into the same beaded fields: e.g. the horn mount from Burghead in Scotland,[10] and the mounts from a Viking grave at Källby, Lund, Skåne in Sweden (pl. XXX)[11] (the fields of which have the additional free-standing thin line to the border seen at Trewhiddle). The series of disc-brooches[12] and many of the strap-ends define their fields in the same way, one of the most striking examples being that from Cricklade, Wiltshire.[13] At a date later than the deposition of the Trewhiddle hoard we can see the same method of division on the two casket plates in the British Museum[14] and in the series of penannular brooches which cannot be dissociated from them.[15] This division into fields is also seen in the objects manufactured under English influence on the Continent: the Tassilo Chalice[16] and the Welsbaden spurs and armring.[17] The same feature can be seen on the rectangular plates from Denmark discussed by Ramskou[18] and Arbman,[19] and possibly influenced from England. Outside England, however, this division into small fields is not common in the metalwork, it is a late introduction in the Irish metalwork and although not unknown in the continental material is by no means as common as in England. It is amongst the objects that I have quoted that we also find the closest parallels to the animals of the Trewhiddle hoard, and especially of the horn mounts, the box, and the strap-ends. On the sword handle from Hoven, Norway,[1] for instance, we have the same animal patterns mixed with certain foliate patterns in small sub-triangular fields bounded by beaded borders. On the sword handle from Dolven, Norway,[2] it is possible to see, below the pommel guard, rectangular fields divided up in the same way as those on the box and decorated with much the same motifs. These parallels from the swords are perhaps the best as they are in silver. Similar decoration does occur in a different material on the gilt-bronze mounts from Källby, Sweden[3] (pl. XXX) and the gold finger-ring of Ahlstan in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[4] It would be tedious to draw exact distinctions and parallels for the animal ornament of the Trewhiddle mounts. The decoration of the objects above provide the best parallels to the ornament of the horn mounts, and have been noticed by Smith,[5] Brøgger,[6] Brøndsted,[7] Bruce-Mitford,[8] Wilson[9] and others. The features noticed have been the speckling of the animals' bodies (repeated for instance on the Strickland Brooch,[10] the Witham pins,[11] the Scales Moor, Ingleton pommel,[12] the Chelsea ring,[13] the Ethelwulf ring,[14] etc.), the shaped back limb with toes (paralleled at Källby, Sweden (pl. XXX), on the Strickland Brooch, on the Cricklade strap-end, etc.), the square snout and the separate eye, the foliate character of certain features and the beaded borders. Features hitherto unnoticed, as the presence of dome-headed rivets on various objects, are also present on many of these objects and particularly in the disc-brooch series, even, as at Igelösa, Skåne, Sweden,[15] becoming skeumorphic. The small cross on the box is present in almost the same form and size on the front of the drapery of the central figure of the Fuller Brooch.[16] An uncommon feature, however, is provided by the hawk-like head in field two of the second mount: although it is perhaps possible to relate it to the eagle heads on the Fejø cup[17] and the ring from Wincheap, Kent,[18] neither parallel is very satisfactory: in detail and treatment, however, it is quite close to the birds' tails on the Ethelwulf ring.[19]

---

[1] J. Evans, 'Notes on a Danish Sword-hilt found near Wallingford', *Archaeologia*, vol. i, pl. XXVII.

[2] City Museum, Sheffield, *Annual Report*, 1955–6, p. 9.

[3] Lord Bolton, *P.S.A. Lond.* xxviii, 1916, p. 229.

[4] J. D. Cowen, 'A Catalogue of the Objects of the Viking Period in the Tullie House Museum, Carlisle', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Ant. and Arch. Soc.* xxxiv, fig. 3.

[5] Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.* (1956), pl. XXIII, A and B.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. XXIII, C and D.

[7] *Ibid.* pl. XXI, A.

[8] C. Blindheim, *Kaupang*, Oslo, 1953, fig. 7.

[9] National Museum, Reykjavik.

[10] *P.S.A. Scot.* iv, 378.

[11] Wilson, *loc. cit.* (1955), figs. 2 and 3.

[12] Bruce-Mitford, *loc. cit.* (1956).

[13] *Wiltshire Arch. Mag.* xxx, 230.

[14] Wilson, *loc. cit.* (1956), pl. V.

[15] D. M. Wilson, 'A Group of Penannular Brooches of the Viking Period', *Árbok hins íslenzka forneifafélags*, 1958, p. 95.

[16] Haseloff, *op. cit.* (1951), pl. I.

[17] *Ibid.* pl. XIII.

[18] Th. Ramskou, 'Some Scandinavian Iron Age Brooches', *Acta Archaeologica*, xvii, 1946.

[19] H. Arbman, 'The Skabersjö Brooch and some Danish

Two pieces in the hoard are of rather different style and must be mentioned separately: these are the pin-head and the small mount. The pin-head with its

---

Mountings', *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum*, 1956.

[1] Bruce-Mitford, *op. cit.* pl. XXI, A.

[2] *Ibid.* pl. XXII, D.

[3] Wilson, *loc. cit.* (1955), figs. 2 and 3.

[4] C. C. Oman, *Catalogue of the Finger-rings in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London, 1930, p. 63, no. 227 and frontispiece.

[5] R. A. Smith, *loc. cit.* (1904), *passim.*

[6] A. W. Brøgger, 'Rolvsøyaetten', *Bergens Museums Aarbok*, 1920–1, *passim.*

[7] *Op. cit.*, *passim.*

[8] *Loc. cit.* (1956), *passim.*

[9] *Loc. cit.* (1955), *passim.*

[10] Bruce-Mitford, *loc. cit.* (1956), pl. XXVI, A and B.

[11] British Museum, *Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, London, 1923, pl. IX.

[12] Bruce-Mitford, 'A Late Saxon Disc-Brooch and Sword Pommel', *British Museum Quarterly*, XV, 1952, pl. XXXIII, D.

[13] Oman, *loc. cit.* (1930), frontispiece.

[14] O. M. Dalton, *op. cit.* (1912), pl. II.

[15] Bruce-Mitford, *loc. cit.* (1956), fig. 39 *bis.*

[16] *Ibid.* pl. XX and fig. 35*a*.

[17] Brøndsted, *op. cit.* (1924), fig. 128.

[18] Unpublished, in the British Museum: reg. no. 1951, 2–5, 1.

[19] Dalton, *op. cit.* pl. 2.

ordered and symmetrically placed ornament is difficult to parallel both in shape and art. The ornament of the small mount is, however, to be paralleled on certain strap-ends as at Whitby[1] and Hauxton Mill.[2]

DATING PROBLEMS

As with all archaeological studies the final problem is that of dating the material. The Trewhiddle hoard has a well-dated deposition on the numismatic evidence, but the absolute dating of the manufacture of the objects is not settled. It is as well that we discuss these dating problems in relation to the animal ornament, which is so important in the study of the art of the Christian Saxon period.

The methodological problems of the dating of the Christian Saxon material bear a little investigation. The dating of objects within this period is not a unique problem in English archaeology: it is paralleled both in Roman and Medieval archaeology. The problem is that of fitting an undated archaeological series within a known historical framework. But in the Christian Saxon period we have less material and consequently less standardization than in the Roman and Medieval periods, and as a consequence we have less opportunity for accurate dating. The possibility of absolute dating has exercised all who have written on the subject of Anglo-Saxon archaeology; Baldwin Brown[3] for instance evolved a chronological cipher by which he could divide each century up into quarters and he referred objects to within a quarter of a century. Leeds in the later years of his life avoided chronological discussion so completely that in his great corpus of square-headed brooches he makes almost no definite dating statement.[4] Between these two extremes students of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, occasionally under pressure from other disciplines, are forced to make dating decisions which, as they are only too well aware, are often misleading. The difficulty of dating has been argued with much force by Almgren in relationship to the Scandinavian Viking Age. In his book *Bronsnycklar och Djurornamentik* he argues that it is impossible to date any object in his period to within 100 years; his arguments are thorough and convincing and point a moral to the Anglo-Saxon archaeologist.

The study of the art of the metalwork in this period is an art-historical study and must abide by art-historical rules. The Anglo-Saxon scholar when he dates an object to the first quarter of the ninth century should mean that the object was manufactured within those years without any reasonable doubt. Too often the dating is the result of a chain reaction of cross-datings, parallels with other objects (often of an entirely different nature), datings with no regard for the human factor and reliance on opinions of others. We have two primary and one secondary method by which we can initially postulate a chronology of the archaeology of the Christian Saxon period: the first is dating by association with names of known historical personages; the second is by the use of the coin evidence and the third is the archaeological method of cross dating combined with the art-historical method of dating by exact parallel. The first of these methods is provided by such objects as the Tassilo Chalice and the Alfred Jewel which are associated by inscription with known historical personages. The numismatic method is useful in giving a *terminus post quem* to the deposition of the coins in a hoard, which in the later Anglo-Saxon period can now be worked out very closely.[1] The third method is of little use for fine dating but in some cases of very close similarity, as between the Alfred and the Minster Lovel jewels,[2] it gives the student a good idea of the date of the object.

---

[1] Peers and Radford, *loc. cit.* pl. XXVIII, *c.*

[2] *V.C.H. Cambridgeshire*, vol. i, pl. XI.

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] E. T. Leeds, *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*, Oxford, 1949.

Dating of metalwork by parallels with objects of other material would be more satisfactory if we had a sufficiently accurate chronology for either the English stone-carvings or the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: in fact both chronologies, except at a few points on the time scale, are at present inexact. The argument set out above concerning the difference between sculptor and scribe and metalworker must also be borne in mind in this connexion.

On this basis we can set out our dating for the period between the Augustinian mission and the end of the eleventh century in tabular form so:

In the personal dating series there are:

1. Tassilo Chalice (777–88).[3]
2. Alhstan's ring (817–67).[4]
3. Ethelwulf's ring (836–67).[5]
4. Ethelswith's ring (855–89).[6]
5. Ethilwald's seal (about 850).[7]
6. The Alfred Jewel.[8]

Similarly associated with known historical persons but only valid for *terminus ante quem* are:

1. The contents of St. Cuthbert's coffin.[9]
2. A pin found in the grave of Wolstan, Archbishop of York.[10]
3. The Crozier and ring of Bishop Falmbard of Durham.[11]
4. An object now lost, the cross of King Edward the Confessor.[12]

Coin hoards containing Anglo-Saxon ornamental metalwork:

1. Sutton Hoo (650–60).[13]
2. Sevington (850).[14]
3. Hon (*c.* 855).[14]

---

[1] We must never forget the fact that ancient objects can be deposited in hoards. To an archaeologist the will of the Atheling Athelstan should be a chastening document, D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, i, 549: in 1015 the Atheling leaves to his brother a sword which belonged to King Offa who died more than 200 years earlier.

[2] Kirk, *op. cit.*

[3] Haseloff, *op. cit.* (1951).

[4] Oman, *loc. cit.* p. 63, no. 227.

[5] Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 30.

[7] A. B. Tonnochy, *Catalogue of British Seal Dies in the British Museum*, London, 1952, p. 1, fig. i.

[8] Kirk, *op. cit.*

[9] C. F. Battiscombe (ed.), *The Relics of St. Cuthbert*, Oxford, 1956.

[10] Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

[11] T. D. Kendrick, 'Flambard's Crozier', *Antiq. J.* xviii, 1938, p. 236.

[12] L. E. Tanner, 'The Quest for the Cross of St. Edward the Confessor', *Journ. British Arch. Assoc.* 1954, p. 1.

[13] P. Grierson, 'The Dating of the Sutton Hoo Coins', *Antiquity*, xxvi, 83 f.

[14] Date supplied by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, F.S.A.

4. Hexham (*c.* 847).[1]
5. Beeston Tor (*c.* 875).[2]
6. Trewhiddle (875).[3]
7. Talnotrie (880).[4]
8. Cuerdale (903–5).[5]
9. Igelösa (1006).[6]
10. Stockholm, Inedahlsgatan (1025).[7]
11. Halton Moor (*c.* 1027).[8] (English?)
12. Sutton, Isle of Ely (coins of William I).[9]
13. St. Mary-at-Hill (1075).[10]

It can be seen from this that there are large lacunae in our dating series—gaps which consist of almost the whole of the eighth and tenth centuries. Fortunately the firm date of the Tassilo Chalice gives us some clue as to what we should expect in England at the end of the eighth century, even though it was made abroad. The satisfactory parallels between the art of the Trewhiddle hoard and the art of objects dated to the ninth century by the methods recognized above, enable us to say that the art of Trewhiddle flourished in the first half of the ninth century. Further, it is possible that the artistic tradition of Trewhiddle extended into the late ninth and early tenth centuries (Trewhiddle, Talnotrie, and Cuerdale), the later tenth century (Stockholm) as well as back into the eighth century. We have a fairly fixed central dating for the Trewhiddle style of animal ornament in the ninth century and from the three rings we could perhaps argue a development of style and a conquest of technique. But this argument can be denied by the equally poor technical execution of Alhstan's ring and the two tenth-century casket plates in the British Museum.[11]

Only by the use of subjective arguments can it be stated that the art of the Trewhiddle hoard flourished at any one particular period. We may hazard a guess that the mounts were manufactured during the first half of the ninth century, but that is all that can be said. There is in this hoard a large body of material displaying the art of this period and, as its deposition is dated by coins, scholars have looked at it, correctly, as the basic English hoard of the period and have attempted to date similar art on the dating of this hoard. I have attempted to show that such dating is precarious: in certain circumstances objects decorated with similar ornamental motifs can be dated fairly closely (to within, say, fifty years), but it is impossible to date many objects, on the grounds of ornament alone, to within a century. With all these reservations the Trewhiddle hoard must still be considered as one of the basic hoards of the Late Saxon period.

---

[1] J. D. A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, London, 1956, p. 69.

[2] R. A. Smith, 'The Beeston Tor Hoard', *Antiq. J.* v. 1925, 135–40.

[3] Here published.

[4] *P.S.A. Scot.* xlvii, 12 ff.

[5] Date supplied by Mr. C. E. Blunt, F.S.A.

[6] Date supplied by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, F.S.A.

[7] *Månadsbladet*, 1892, pp. 172 f.

[8] Date provided by Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, F.S.A.

[9] A Fountaine, *Dissertatio De Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Usu*, Oxford, 1705, pp. 186 f.

[10] G. Griffith, 'Account of Coins, &c. found in Digging up the Foundations of Some Old Houses near the Church of St. Mary at Hill, London 1774', *Archaeologia*, iv, 356.

[11] Wilson, *loc. cit.* (1956), pl. v *a*.

THE COINS

The coins from Trewhiddle have been carefully listed by Jonathan Rashleigh, great nephew of Philip Rashleigh, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, and by John Jope Rogers in the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, 1867, and so do not require the detailed consideration that has had to be given to the ornaments and other metal objects. The recent acquisition by the British Museum and by the writer of certain Rashleigh papers connected with the hoard throws, however, some new light on one or two controversial points and certain comments fall to be made on individual coins in the light of knowledge gained since Rashleigh wrote.

The composition of the numismatic element of the hoard was, as far as can be ascertained, as follows:

Kings of Mercia		
Offa	(757–96)	1
Coenwulf	(796–821)	2
Ceolwulf I	(821–3)	1
Beornwulf	(823–5)	1
Berhtwulf	(840–52)	10
Burgred	(852–74) abt.	52
Kings of Wessex		
Ecgberht	(802–39)	3
Æthelwulf	(839–58)	11
Æthelred I	(866–71)	2
Alfred	(871–99)	2
Archbishops of Canterbury		
Ceolnoth	(833–70)	7
Uncertain Anglo-Saxon		
Eanred		1
French		
Louis the Pious	(814–40)	1
Pippin ?		1
Dispersed without record	abt.	20
	abt.	115

A manuscript note (in the hand of J. J. Rogers ?) refers to the coin of 'Pepin' as being in the hoard and in the possession of Rev. R. Hennah and this is included in his summary list in the printed account. Rashleigh, however, does not mention it.

Of the 95 identified coins 71 passed into the Rashleigh collection which fortunately remained intact until 1909 when it was dispersed at auction with a particularly well-illustrated catalogue. It is thus possible, in spite of the fact that no coins came direct to the British Museum, to locate a substantial number today. In the appendix is set out the subsequent history of such coins as can be traced. Of the 44 coins that

Rashleigh failed to secure only three can now be identified. These are two Burgred's and one Æthelwulf in the British Museum which may be presumed to have been given by Rogers.[1]

It should, however, be made clear at the outset that, in spite of the published records, some doubt must remain as to the exact composition of the hoard and any deductions made from the coins must take this into account. Equally it must be emphasized that there is no reason in any way to doubt the intellectual honesty of either Jonathan Rashleigh or J. J. Rogers: the discovery of the Rashleigh papers shows that Rashleigh, on whom Rogers largely relied for the numismatic evidence, was placed in some difficulty in ascertaining precisely which of the coins in his great-uncle's collection were from Trewhiddle and that he made what he believed to be as accurate an assessment as was possible. What the published accounts do not show is the difficulties with which he had to contend nor the fact that what he recorded was not the clearly established composition of the hoard. Nor does J. Rashleigh indicate whether he has allowed patina to influence his selection. In fact the coins from Trewhiddle have a markedly brown patina which to modern students would be a significant guide.

Philip Rashleigh's original account of the hoard, published in *Archaeologia*, vol. ix, makes only the barest reference to the coins. It says that the find 'contained many of the most curious Saxon coins ever discovered at one time' and describes and illustrates a single coin of the plentiful issues of Burgred which, it says, is 'by a new Mint-master'. In the supplementary note read to the Society four years later the only reference to the coins is the withdrawal of this latter claim. The first detailed account was therefore not published until nearly a century after the discovery.

Among the Rashleigh papers at the British Museum is one headed 'List of coins 1768' where the following are listed: 'Eadred; Ceolnulf; Burgred 2; Ethelred 3rd son of Atheluulf; Alfred the Great; Beornulf; Edwd the Elder; Edelred; Athelstan the Great 2; Edmund 5th son of Edward; Edgar son of Edmund 2; Athelred 5; Edmund Ironside; Cnut; Edwd the Confessor 3; Peter Money York.'

If the date on this list is correct, it shows that, six years before the find at Trewhiddle in 1774, Philip Rashleigh already had a significant collection of Anglo-Saxon coins including some pieces of considerable rarity. The coin of Beornwulf is particularly significant. Few coins of this king have survived and the Rashleigh sale catalogue shows that, of the two in the cabinet at the time of its dispersal, one came from an auction sale in 1866. The other is claimed to be from Trewhiddle (pl. XXXI, 3). If this is so, the specimen in the 1768 list must have been disposed of. This is possible, though there is nothing to suggest that any coins left the cabinet. But there are two significant facts: first, the alleged Trewhiddle coin has a blackish patina that is not typical of the hoard; second, there is illustrated in Speede's *Historie of Great Britaine*[2] a coin of Beornwulf which fairly closely resembles the one in the Rashleigh sale. There are four coins of this type and moneyer known today. One from a nineteenth-century hoard from Delgany can certainly not be the coin in the 1768 list;

---

[1] The list here given differs slightly from that given by Rashleigh. Adjustments have been made in the light of comments found in the Rashleigh papers.

[2] p. 255 in the 1623 edition.

the other two which are first known from the Cuff Sale in 1854 were there said to have been found in Suffolk. If this provenance is correct neither is likely to be the coin in Speede; find spots were not generally recorded at so early a date.

The solitary coin of Ceolwulf is also a possible interloper. Three specimens of this type and moneyer are known. One, in the British Museum, was found in Wiltshire in 1853; the second is from the Delgany hoard. The third, the Rashleigh coin, claiming to be from Trewhiddle, corresponds closely with a coin illustrated by Fountaine in 1705, a coin that is otherwise lost, and it is not, moreover, of the characteristic Trewhiddle colour.

The conclusion therefore must be that there is a substantial possibility that the coins of Ceolwulf and Beornwulf listed as from Trewhiddle may well have been in the Rashleigh collection before that find was made and once a serious doubt arises as to individual coins in the list the whole must come under suspicion, more especially when it is found to include pieces that one would not expect.

Other reasons for raising doubts as to the absolute accuracy of Jonathan Rashleigh's list arise from references in the Rashleigh sale catalogue to a number of coins down to the reign of Edgar said to be found 'near St. Austell' (e.g. lots 276 and 278) and to a penny of the St. Peter issue of York (*c.* 905–25) 'found at Trewhiddle' (lot 194). A nineteenth-century list (in the hand of J. J. Rogers?) in the writer's possession also includes under those found at Trewhiddle and 'in possession of Philip Rashleigh Esq^{re}' coins of 'Eadmond Rex', 'Eadgar Rex Angl. 959 d. 975', and 'Ethelred Rex Angl. 978 d. 1016'. This may be presumed to have been copied from an earlier list as, judging by the handwriting, Philip Rashleigh would probably have been dead by the time it was written.

At one time one was inclined to see in this later group of coins a possible 'Second St. Austell's hoard'. Such an idea can, however, be dismissed. One of the coins in this group is illustrated in plates prepared by Taylor Combe in 1803[1] and so antedates J. Rashleigh's published account. Since in this he gives a table of comparable Anglo-Saxon hoards, it is inconceivable that he would have omitted one from his immediate area, had it existed. The Rashleigh papers at the British Museum show how this error in all probability arose. There is a letter dated 23rd July 1802 from Taylor Combe to Philip Rashleigh in which he lists coins that Rashleigh had sent him for examination, no doubt in connexion with the plates he was preparing. The early part of this list contains coins from Trewhiddle (though not identified as such) and it continues with others that are given the same provenance in the sale catalogue. It seems likely that the cataloguer would have had access to the Rashleigh papers when preparing his catalogue and that he may have fallen into the not unnatural error, supported by the Rogers list in so doing, of assuming that all the coins sent to Taylor Combe were from the Trewhiddle hoard.

All this is not to say that J. Rashleigh's account of the hoard is not in essence correct. There is everything to suggest that the large parcel of coins of the middle of the ninth century was found together and some of those from the earlier part of the century could well have been found with them. The Offa may, however, be open

[1] Subsequently published by Ruding in his *Annals of the Coinage*, 1817–19.

to question as may one of the Alfreds. Both would be unexpected in the context of this hoard.

Turning to the individual coins, it can be remarked that the coin of Offa (pl. XXXI, 1), though of a well-known type, is, if from the hoard, significant to the numismatist because, of the 250 or more specimens of this reign that survive today, less than 10 are from fully recorded hoards. Unfortunately this piece has gone to America and it has not therefore been possible to compare its patina with coins that are undoubtedly from the hoard.

Both the coins of Coenwulf are now lost. The one that was in the Rashleigh cabinet is the only coin of his that does not appear in the 1909 sale and it is to be noted that it is not in the list of coins sent to Taylor Combe.

The single coin in the name of Ceolwulf (pl. XXXI, 2) was attributed by Jonathan Rashleigh to the second king of that name who was put on the throne of Mercia by the Danes in 874. As such it would be one of the latest coins in the hoard and so significant for its dating. The evidence of subsequent hoards shows, however, beyond doubt that this is in fact a coin of the first Ceolwulf who reigned 821–3 and it is therefore not of value for dating the deposit. It is interesting to note, however, that Taylor Combe, in the letter to Philip Rashleigh dated 23rd July 1802 referred to above, correctly attributed it to Ceolwulf I.

In spite of his twelve years' reign, the coins of Berhtwulf have, doubtless due to the chance of hoards, survived in no greater quantity than those of the two-year reign of Ceolwulf I. The Trewhiddle hoard with its ten examples, nine of which fortunately passed to Rashleigh, supplies more than one-eighth of the total known today and offers in a coin by the moneyer Eanbald (pl. XXXI, 4) a type otherwise unknown.

Of the Burgred coins, the largest element in the hoard, little need be said. Regrettably they were not identified individually in the Rashleigh sale catalogue, but the loss is mitigated by the fact that they were the least significant coins in the find.[1]

Among the Wessex coins two of the three of Ecgberht passed to Rashleigh and one of these, by the moneyer Oba (pl. XXXI, 6), provides a type otherwise only known from a single specimen in the Middle Temple hoard.[2] A third coin of Ecgberht by the moneyer Diormod has been tentatively identified.[3] Of the six coins of Æthelwulf that Rashleigh acquired, two supply types otherwise unknown. One (pl. XXXI, 7) with the king's head on one side and a cross potent on the other is an early coin, similar to one of Ecgberht in the hoard. This was recently acquired by the British Museum. The other (pl. XXXI, 8) which has a bust similar to many found on the coins of Berhtwulf, has on the reverse a cross pattée imposed on a cross saltire.

The absence of any coins of Æthelberht, Æthelwulf's successor, is to be noted. As a class they are plentiful today, largely owing to 249 having been found in the Dorking hoard.[4] Equally plentiful, again owing to a major hoard,[5] are the coins of Æthelred I. But at Trewhiddle only two were found and both these were of a type with a four-line inscription of which very few specimens have survived.

---

[1] Four more have been tentatively identified. See P. Grierson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, i, nos. 410–11, 417 and 419.

[2] *Num. Chron.* 1894, pp. 29 ff., where the find-spot is not mentioned.

[3] See P. Grierson, *op. cit.* no. 521.

[4] *Archaeologia*, xix, 109 ff.

[5] The Gravesend Hoard, *Num. Chron.* 1841, pp. 14 ff.

Of Alfred's large coinage only two specimens occur and this would suggest a deposit early in his reign. The absence of any of the Wessex coins of Alfred with mint-names, struck late in his reign, effectively precludes a dating to his last years. There is, however, a difficulty in establishing the date with certainty. One of the Alfred coins is of his earliest type, which continued that of his brother, and this is a coin one would expect to find in an early hoard. The other, however (pl. XXXI, 9), is more significant. It is of his most plentiful type with a small cross on the obverse and the moneyer's name, Franbald, on the reverse, the only recorded occurrence incidentally of this moneyer's name. Brooke regarded this type as having been copied by Alfred from the Viking coinage of Guthrum-Athelstan, King of East Anglia (880–90).[1]

Whether or not one accepts Brooke's contention—and there are good grounds for disputing an argument that the Wessex king copied a Viking type—there is no doubt that the 'two-line' type was not introduced in the first years of Alfred's reign. There is an unusual volume of hoard evidence on these early years all of which points to Alfred's first issue having had a life of several years and having been superseded at some later date by the 'two-line' type. The first issue, which was sometimes of rather base silver, seems to have been withdrawn from currency. No hoard is known which contained the two types. Even in the great Cuerdale hoard, where some 900 coins of Alfred were found, there was not a single specimen of his first type.

The earliest one can date the introduction of the 'two-line type' is 875–80 and it is more likely that it did not occur until Alfred's treaty with Guthrum-Athelstan, an event that is tentatively dated 886.

The dating of the deposit is therefore much influenced by whether this second coin of Alfred's was in fact from the hoard. Efforts to trace it have so far not been successful, so that the patina is not known. If it is properly to be included, the coins suggest a deposit 885–95; if it is excluded a date of *c.* 875 would be appropriate.

The seven coins of Archbishop Ceolnoth, one of which is illustrated here (pl. XXXI, 10), call for little comment. They provide a representative selection of his issues.

What is at once the most interesting and the most controversial coin is the penny struck in the name of a King Eanred (pl. XXXI, 11). There seems fortunately no doubt that this, one of the most significant of the British Museum acquisitions at the Lockett sale in 1955, is in fact from the hoard. The obverse shows the king's bust draped and diademed surrounded by the legend +EΛNRED REX. On the reverse is a cross two arms of which are crosslet and two moline. The legend reads +ÐES MONETΛ followed by an object which could be an omega or an inverted ♈.

The only king of this name known historically at this time is Eanred of Northumbria whose dates are given by Powicke as 808–41.[2] But Powicke notes that Symeon of Durham, in his *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiæ*, says that Eanred's reign began in 807 and that he reigned 33 years, and in his *De Primo Saxonum Adventu Libellus* that he reigned 32 years. There is a possibility therefore that it ended in 840.

This coin has been the subject of much discussion. Although prima facie an attribution to Eanred of Northumbria seems so obvious as not to be called in question, a moment's examination of the other coins in his name, of which there have survived great quantities, raises immediate doubts. With the solitary exception of this piece, all Eanred's coins conform to the standard of Northumbria which was widely different at this time from the standard ruling in the southern parts of England. In the latter area the silver penny, a thin coin struck on a large flan and generally bearing the king's head, was the only denomination current at that time. In Northumbria, on the other hand, the currency consisted of small coins known to numismatists as stycas. These were struck on thick flans and were usually made of copper although occasionally there was a small admixture of silver. They never have the king's head on them. The coin under review clearly conforms to the southern standard in size, type and metal.

---

[1] *English Coins*, p. 46.

[2] *Handbook of British Chronology* (ed. F. M. Powicke), 1939, p. 14.

A number of authors have written on it. Jonathan Rashleigh[1] followed Taylor Combe and Ruding[2] in attributing it to Eanred of Northumbria. In the third edition of Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England* the writer discussed it at some length and, having reviewed the evidence of the find-spot and types, concluded

> the author has no doubt that the coin of Eanred belongs to some unknown personage of that name, who was a neighbour and contemporary of these Mercian kings (Berhtwulf and Burgred). Not a single coin of Northumbria was discovered with them [i.e. the coins from Trewhiddle]. The Northumbrian Eanred died in 840, and though thousands of his copper stycas are known, not one penny of his has ever yet been discovered, unless the unique coin above described should really be his, which we feel perfectly confident it is not.[3]

Oman attributes it to Eanred of Northumbria and regards it as an experiment at a coinage on the southern standard that did not succeed.[4] Brooke, referring to it as 'one of the mysteries of this period', says that it 'belongs to the period of the accession of Æthelwulf, which agrees with the only explanation that has been offered, that it represents an attempt by Eanred of Northumbria to introduce a silver coinage. This [he adds] is by no means convincing. No other Northumbrian coin was found in the Trewhiddle hoard, which was the source of this penny. The style of the coin seems to me to prove it to be an issue of the Canterbury mint'.[5]

Before reviewing this evidence further, consideration must be given to the possibility that there may in fact have been a copper styca of Eanred in the hoard. Were this the case it would be a material piece of evidence in deciding the attribution of the penny. In Bryer's transcript, dated 1812, of Taylor Combe's notes to the set of plates that were ultimately published by Ruding,[6] a note against the first styca of Eanred on plate 10, which was then in the collection of William Hunter, reads: 'Found in the year 1774 on the Estate of Philip Rashleigh Esq. near Trewardeth or St. Wynow and near Lystwithial in Cornwall in a Silver Cup. With it were found a number of other scarce Pennies of Berhtulf, Coenuulff, Cioluulf etc. etc.' A note to the same effect is found in a nineteenth-century catalogue of the Rashleigh collection which was among the Rashleigh papers recently acquired by the British Museum.

---

[1] *Num. Chron.* 1868, pp. 155–6.

[2] *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* (3rd ed.), i, 121.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 71–72.

[4] *The Coinage of England*, p. 15.

[5] *English Coins*, p. 44.

[6] The first plates in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, published in 1817–19. The original plates and manuscript notes are in the library of the British Numismatic Society.

In spite of both these references I believe that no such coin was found at Trewhiddle. In the first place, its importance in the context of the Eanred penny would have been apparent. Yet no earlier writer mentions it in any printed account. In the second place Taylor Combe's note refers to it being found with 'a number of other scarce pennies'. He would not have referred to the styca as a penny. In the third place the styca illustrated by Taylor Combe was in the collection of William Hunter. There is no evidence that Hunter acquired, or indeed had the opportunity to acquire, any of the coins from Trewhiddle. The Eanred penny is, however, figured as number 1 on plate 27 of Taylor Combe's series and I believe that through an error the note became attached to number 1 on plate 10 but in fact referred to number 1 on plate 27, where no record of provenance is given. Once the error had been made it could easily have been perpetuated in the later Rashleigh manuscript catalogue.

In considering the attribution of this penny the first thing is to see how nearly, on numismatic grounds, it can be dated. The type can be closely paralleled on the Mercian and Wessex coinages. The diademed bust was a regular feature of both, but the nearest parallels to this particular bust are found on coins of Æthelwulf which are certainly not the earliest in his reign.

Of the coins here shown the second is of Æthelwulf's latest issue, which was continued by his son, and the first is only slightly earlier. Neither can have been struck early in the reign, when coins which follow closely the issues of Ecgberht are found. No strictly comparable bust is found on any coin of Berhtwulf, but the reverse type is exactly paralleled on coins struck by the moneyer Deneheah (pl. XXXI, 5).

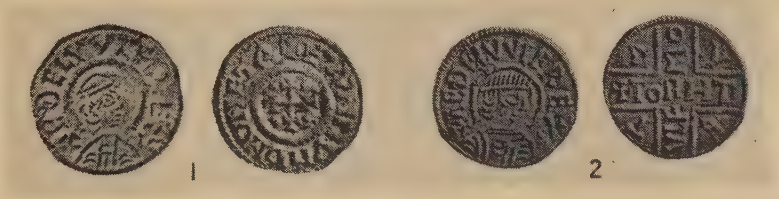


Fig. 6. Coins for comparison with the Eanred penny.

The legend on the Berhtwulf and Eanred coins is made up of similar large and rather widely spaced letters and there seems good reason for believing that the dies for both were made at the same die-cutting centre. Although nothing quite similar is found on the reverse of Æthelwulf's coins, the cross on some coins of this king is found with two arms *either* crosslet *or* moline[1] and the latter form is also found on certain coins of Ecgberht attributed to Rochester.[2]

The evidence of the bust points therefore to a date towards the middle or end of Æthelwulf's reign, i.e. to 850–5; the parallel on the Berhtwulf coin gives a date between 839 and 852. We shall probably not be far wrong in regarding 850 as the approximate date of issue. If this is correct it cannot be a coin of Eanred of Northumbria who, by any reckoning, had by then been dead nine years.

---

[1] *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ii, p. 12 and pl. III, 5.

[2] *Num. Chron.* 1924, p. 239, no. 325.

The reverse legend deserves mention. The reading *Đes Moneta* has until quite lately always been regarded as providing the name of a moneyer and it has been noted that the theme is an unusual one and that the name is otherwise unknown. Recently, however, Mr. R. H. M. Dolley has made the suggestion that it might be an Anglo-Saxon word rather than a proper name.[1] If this is the case, and there seems no reason to reject it, it could be the genitive singular, masculine, or neuter, of *se* 'that' in which case the coin could be read 'coin of that (king)', the king's name having appeared on the obverse.

Although the common practice at this time was for the moneyer to put his name on the reverse of the coin, exceptions are not wanting to prove that, in the case of a mint where only one moneyer was working, the name could be omitted. Examples are Ecgberht's coins of the mint of Rochester which read *Scs Andreas* or *Scs Andreas Apostolus* and what is probably his first coin after he secured London which reads simply *Lundonia Civit.*

The significance of the final letter on the reverse of the Eanred coin remains obscure. It somewhat resembles the Omega found occasionally on coins of this period, but this is generally associated with Alpha in a grouping of religious significance, which does not seem to be the case here.

If it is unsatisfactory to have to leave the attribution of so important a coin in doubt it must surely be right to reject one that seems wrong. It seems clear that the attempt to regard it as an issue of Eanred of Northumbria must, as Hawkins argued, fail and one is forced for the time being to accept his conclusion that it was issued by a historically unknown king, who was ruling, possibly in the Midlands, about 850.

A word must be said on the nature of the numismatic element of the hoard. Deposits of this kind can broadly be said to represent either accumulated savings, or the working capital of a tradesman or merchant or the petty cash of a traveller. In this case the evidence suggests that the hoard represents accumulated savings. This may be significant in considering the dating of the associated objects. It is, moreover, with the exception of a small find of coins at Tywardreath, deposited *c.* 928–30, the only hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Cornwall.

In conclusion it is a pleasure to acknowledge the debt I owe to Professor D. Whitelock for guidance on questions of Anglo-Saxon grammar, to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, Mr. C. S. S. Lyon and Mrs. J. S. Martin who have given me the benefit of their advice on many points, and to the various owners who have allowed their coins to be illustrated.

The Background of the Hoard

The historical, economical, and geographical background of the hoard is hidden in the Celtic mists of Cornwall. Dr. H. P. R. Finberg[1] has recently attempted a survey of certain aspects of Cornish history in relation to Anglo-Saxon England. But the lack of literary evidence for Cornish history in the Dark Ages is very evident. In the early part of the ninth century Cornwall seems to have passed finally under the domination of Wessex. The church seems to have remained in its heretical British ways but to all intents and purposes it seems that, after 838, Cornwall was living in perfect amity with its neighbours and although shadowy local kings flit across the scene, the firm hand of Wessex seems to have guided and controlled the area.[1] That Wessex did not fear the Welsh of Cornwall is perhaps shown by the siting of a see at Crediton in 908, a place which was presumably unfortified at this time.[2]

---

[1] In a paper as yet unpublished.

[2] H. P. R. Finberg, 'Sherborne, Glastonbury, and the Expansion of Wessex', *Trans. Royal Historical Society*, 1953, p. 101.

This peaceful change is recorded in the archaeological material. The recent excavations at Mawgan Porth by Mr. Bruce-Mitford have shown 'the change in the position of Cornwall from a Celtic backwater which had lost its Mediterranean connection, to a part of Saxon England'.[3] The settlement sites and the many carved stone crosses of Cornwall illustrate a fairly large, Christian and peaceful community on the fringe of the Saxon area. It is against such a background of peaceful Christianity that the Trewhiddle hoard was deposited. While the scourge and the chalice are undoubtedly objects belonging to a Christian foundation there is nothing incompatible in drinking horns and the other objects being also found in a church.[4] It would seem possible therefore that this hoard comprises the movable treasure of a church hidden in a time of stress, perhaps during or before a Viking raid, and never afterwards recovered by its original owners.

APPENDIX A

HISTORY OF COINS IN THE HOARD

Kings of Mercia

1. Offa	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. v, 14. Moneyer Ibba. Rashleigh 34 (ill.); Douglas; Lockett 352. (Pl. xxxi, 1).
2. Coenwulf	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. viii, 16. Moneyer Werheard. Said to have been in the Rashleigh collection in 1868 but it was not in the 1909 sale, nor was it in the list of coins sent by Rashleigh to Taylor Combe.
3.	Similar type. Moneyer's name not recorded. Described in Rashleigh papers as 'very perfect'. Hennah.
4. Ceolwulf I	Type as Fountaine, pl. iv, 2. Moneyer Eanwulf. Rashleigh 78 (ill.); Lockett 3595. (Pl. xxxi, 2.)
5. Beornwulf	Type as Brooke, pl. vii, 12. Moneyer Monna. Rashleigh 56 (ill.); Reynolds 12; Napier 8; Lockett 388. (Pl. xxxi, 3.)
6. Berhtwulf	Type unrecorded elsewhere. Moneyer Eanbald. Rashleigh 59 (ill.); B.M. (this coin has, unfortunately, now disintegrated into fragments). (Pl. xxxi, 4.)
7.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. x, 5. Moneyer Deneheah. Rashleigh 60 (ill.); Watters 29; Ryan 646. (Pl. xxxi, 5.)
8.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, 124. Moneyer Deneheah. Rashleigh 61 (ill.); Carlyon-Britton 886; Bruun 32; Ryan 644.
9.	Variety of the same type. Moneyer Burnwald. Rashleigh 62 (ill.); B.M.

---

[1] *Ibid.* p. 111; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford, 1943, p. 233.

[2] We are grateful to Mr. R. H. M. Dolley, F.S.A., for pointing this out to us.

[3] R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, *Recent Archaeological Excavation in Britain*, London, 1956, p. 194.

[4] e.g. the will of the Atheling Athelstan; D. Whitelock (ed.), *English Historical Documents*, i, London, 1955, p. 549, the benefactor leaves 'the drinking horn which I bought from the community at the Old Minster'.

10.	Type generally as *B.M.A.* 134. Moneyer Brid. Rashleigh 63 (ill.); Carlyon-Britton 285; Lockett 3596.
11.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. x, 3. Moneyer Burnwald. Rashleigh 64 (not ill.).
12.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. x, 4. Moneyer Burnwald. Rashleigh 65 (*a*) not ill. Ill.: Ruding, pl. 27, 3.
13.	Type as *B.M.C.* 128. Moneyer Burnwald. Rashleigh 65 (*b*) not ill. Ill.: Ruding, pl. 27, 4.
14.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. x, 1. Moneyer Burnwald. Rashleigh 66 (*a*) not ill. Carlyon-Britton 1612 (ill.).
15.	Similar type. Moneyer's name not recorded. Hennah.
16–67. Burgred	It has only been possible to trace with certainty two of the coins of Burgred, those now in the British Museum. The 39 which passed into Rashleigh's possession represented no doubt the greater part of the 41 coins of this king which were in the Rashleigh 1909 sale. But their provenance is not stated in the catalogue. See, however, the Fitzwilliam *Sylloge*, nos. 410–11, 417, and 419 which are tentatively identified as from this hoard.

Kings of Wessex

68. Ecgberht	*B.M.C.* type i. Moneyer's name not recorded. Hennah.
69.	*B.M.C.* type v. Moneyer Dunun. Rashleigh 203 (ill.); Ryan 686.
70.	*B.M.C.* type xv. Moneyer Oba. Rashleigh 200 (ill.); Carlyon-Britton 322; Fitzwilliam. (Pl. xxxi, 6.)
71. Æthelwulf	*B.M.C.* type i. Moneyer Wilheh. Rashleigh 204 (ill.); Argyll.
72.	*B.M.C.* type i. Moneyer's name not recorded. Hennah.
73.	*B.M.C.* type v. Moneyer Manna. Rashleigh 205 (not ill.).
74.	*B.M.C.* type x. Moneyer Beagmund. Rashleigh 206 (ill.); Watters 39; Lockett 471; B.M. (Pl. xxxi, 7.)
75.	Obverse *B.M.C.* type viii; reverse xiii, but style of lettering differs. Moneyer Maninc. Rashleigh 207 (ill.); Carlyon-Britton 324; Lockett 468. (Pl. xxxi, 8.)
76.	*B.M.C.* type xi. Rogers. Now in B.M. (fragments).
77.	*B.M.C.* type xv. Moneyer Ethelhere. Rashleigh 208 (ill.); Carlyon-Britton 918; Bruun 57.
78.	*B.M.C.* type xvii. Moneyer Ethelmod. Rashleigh 209 (not ill.).
79.	*B.M.C.* type xvii. Moneyer's name not recorded. Hennah.
80.	*B.M.C.* type xvii. Moneyer's name not recorded. Hennah.
81.	Type without king's head. No further details. Hennah.
82. Æthelred I	*B.M.C.* type ii. Moneyer Biarnmod. Rashleigh 213 (not ill.).
83.	*B.M.C.* type ii. Moneyer Torhtmund. Rashleigh 214 (not ill.); Wells.
84. Alfred	*B.M.C.* type i. Moneyer Sigestef. Rashleigh 225 (*b*) (not ill.).
85.	*B.M.C.* type xiv. Moneyer Franbald. Rashleigh 230 (*b*) (not ill.). Ill. Ruding, pl. 28, 1. (Pl. xxxi, 9.)

Archbishop of Canterbury

86. Ceolnoth	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. xii, 12. Moneyer Biornmod. Rashleigh 98 (not ill.). Watters 133 (obv. ill.).
87.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. xii, 12. Moneyer's name not recorded. Hennah.
88.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. xii, 13. Moneyer Wunhere. Rashleigh 96 (not ill.); Carlyon-Britton 897; Ryan 597 (ill.).
89.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. xii, 9. Moneyer Lil. Rashleigh 97 (ill.); Carlyon-Britton 1621; Drabble 349.

90.	Similar type but moneyer's name spelt ΓI. Rashleigh 99 (ill.); Grantley 900; Lockett 399; B.M. (Pl. XXXI, 10.)
91.	Similar type. Moneyer's name not recorded. A rough drawing in the Rashleigh papers gives the lettering in the four quarters as VI/T/Λ/Σ instead of the usual ⊏I/VI/T/ΛΣ
92.	Type as *B.M.C.* i, pl. XII, 10. Moneyer Ethelwald. Rashleigh 100 (not ill.).

Uncertain Anglo-Saxon

93. Eanred	Rashleigh 151 (ill.); Bascom 42; Lockett 459; B.M. (Pl. XXXI, 11.)
94–113.	Other Anglo-Saxon of which no details are known.

Continental

114 Louis the Pious	Type as Prou, *Catalogue des Monnaies Carolingiennes*, 987 ff. This type continued after the death of Louis. Probably one of the coins in Rashleigh 1167.
115. Pippin	No particulars.

Explanation of Abbreviations

1. *B.M.C.*	*A Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum. Anglo-Saxon Series*, 2 vols.
2. *B.M.A.*	Anglo-Saxon Acquisitions of the British Museum, published *Numismatic Chronicle*, series v, vols. ii, iii, and iv.
3. Brooke	*English Coins*, 3rd edition, 1950.
4. Ruding	*Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3 vols. 3rd edition, 1840.
5. Fountaine	Numismatica Saxonica, 1705, published in Hickes's *Thesaurus*.

Collections

1. Argyll	Duke of Argyll's collection, dispersed privately.
2. Bascom	Sale Sothebys 1914.
3. B.M.	British Museum.
4. Bruun	Sale Sothebys 1925.
5. Carlyon-Britton	Sale Sothebys 1913-18.
6. Douglas	Dispersed privately *c.* 1914.
7. Drabble	Sale Glendinings 1939 and 1943.
8. Fitzwilliam	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
9. Grantley	Sale Glendinings 1943–5.
10. Lockett	Sale Glendinings 1955– (in progress).
11. Napier	Sale Sothebys 1916.
12. Rashleigh	Sale Sothebys 1909.
13. Reynolds	Sale Sothebys 1914.
14. Ryan	Sale Glendinings 1950–2.
15. Watters	Sale Glendinings 1917.
16. Wells	W. C. Wells's collection, dispersed privately.

APPENDIX B

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE TREWHIDDLE HOARD

THE list below is by no means a complete survey of the literature on the Trewhiddle hoard. It is intended to bring together the more important references to the hoard itself, and only in outstanding instances have we listed references to the hoard in discussions of related objects.

J. Brøndsted *Early English Ornament*, London/Copenhagen, 1924, pp. 127–8, 130, 131, fig. 104.

R. H. M. Dolley 'Some new light on the Trewhiddle Hoard', *British Museum Quarterly*, vol. xxi (1959), p. 94.

Davis Gilbert *Parochial History of Cornwall*, Truro, 1864, vol. i, 49.

G. Haseloff *Der Tassilokelch*, Munich, 1951, pp. 1, 2, 34, 35, 53.

H. Hencken *The Archaeology of Cornwall and Scilly*, London, 1932, p. 262.

R. H. Hodgkin *A History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3rd ed., vol. ii, London, 1952, pp. 442 f. and fig. 58.

T. D. Kendrick *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 800*, London, 1938, p. 185 and pl. LXXVIII, 1.

J. Rashleigh 'An Account of Anglo-Saxon Coins and Gold and Silver Ornament found at Trewhiddle, near St. Austell, Cornwall, A.D. 1774', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868, p. 137.

R. Rashleigh 'Account of Antiquities Discovered in Cornwall' 1774, *Archaeologia*, vol. ix, 1789.

—— 'Further Account of Antiquities Discovered in Cornwall, 1774', *Archaeologia*, vol. xi, 1794.

J. J. Rogers 'Saxon Silver Ornaments and Coins found at Trewhiddle, near St. Austell: A.D. 1774', *Journ. R. Institution of Cornwall*, 1867, vol. viii.

—— 'An Account of a Collection of Saxon Ornaments found in Cornwall', *Arch. J.* xxi, 1864, pp. 169 and 183.

—— Exhibition at Society of Antiquaries, *P.S. Antiq. Lond.* viii, 313.

R. A. Smith 'Some Anglo-Saxon Silver Ornaments found at Trewhiddle, Cornwall in 1774', *P.S. Antiq. Lond.* xx, 1904, p. 47.

(R. A. Smith) *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, London, 1923, pp. 99 f., figs. 118–20.

J. D. A. Thompson *An Inventory of British Coin Hoards*, London, 1956, p. 137.

Victoria County History, *Cornwall*, vol. i, London, 1906, p. 375 (R. A. Smith).

W. W. Watts *Catalogue of the Chalices and other Communion Vessels in the Victoria & Albert Museum*, London, 1922, p. 13 and pl. 3.

APPENDIX C

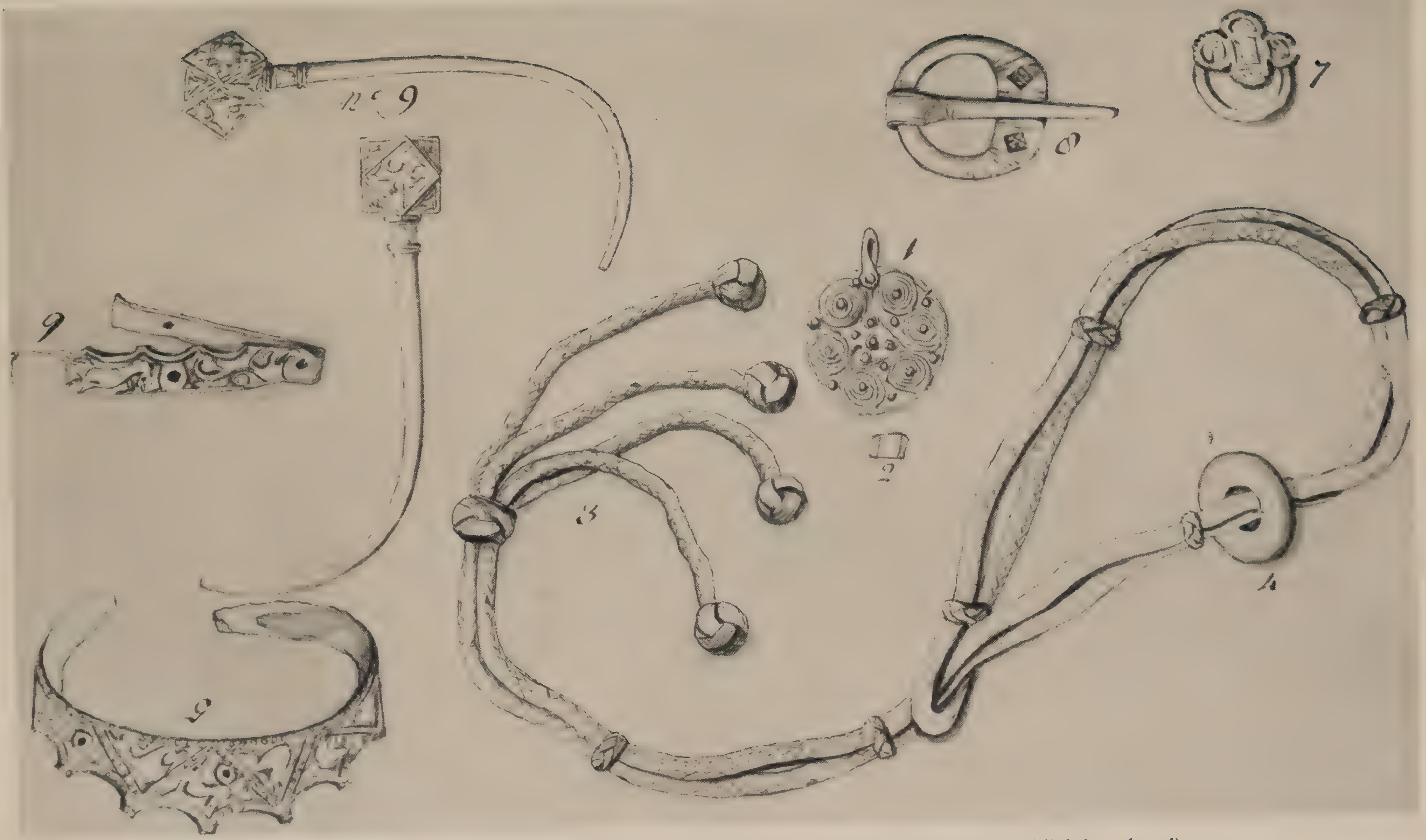
STRAP-ENDS

Appended here is a list of the strap-ends of the Late Saxon period of a form generally similar to that of the decorated strap-ends of the Trewhiddle Hoard. The list may be incomplete as I have not had the opportunity of visiting all the museums in the British Isles where such strap-ends are likely to exist. It is hoped, however, that it will serve as an interim survey and will give some idea of the number of these objects in mainland Britain and abroad. I have ignored in this context certain Irish examples, e.g. from Dunbel, Kilkenny, *Journ. R. S. Antiq. Ireland*, lii, 1923, p. 151, fig. 8, which do not seem to be closely related to the English series. I have also ignored the rather later, heavier type of strap-end of the London type described by Sir Thomas Kendrick, 'An Anglo-Saxon Cruet', *Antiq. J.* xviii, pl. LXXIV, p. 380 and the related bone pieces illustrated by Brøndsted, *op. cit.* (1924), figs. 132 and 133.

Find place	*No. in find*	*Publication or, if unpublished, present location*
Blaise Castle, Somerset	1	Bristol Museum.
Bledlow, Bucks.	1	*Antiq. J.* xxii, 221.

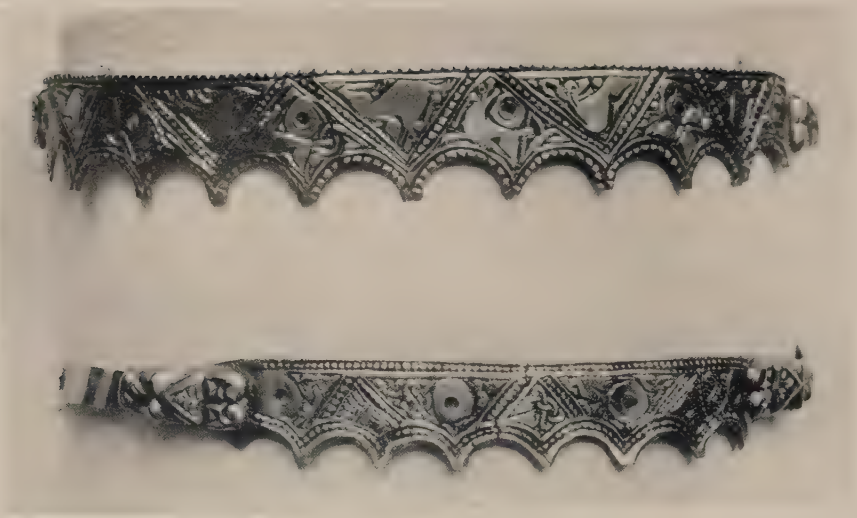
Find place	*No. in find*	*Publication or, if unpublished, present location*
Bradwell, Essex	2	Colchester and Essex Museum.
Burford, Oxon.	1	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Cambridge	1	*V.C.H. Cambs.* i, 327, pl. XI, *g*.
Castor, Northants.	1	Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament*, Copenhagen/London, 1924, p. 132 n.
Coldingham Priory, Berwicks.	1	Private collection.
Coswick	1	British Museum.
Cowlam, Yorks.	1	Mortimer Museum, Hull.
Cricklade, Wilts.	1	*Wilts. Arch. Mag.* xxx, 230.
Cuerdale, Lancs.	1	*Arch. J.* vol. iv, p. 190.
Dymchurch, Kent	1	Sheffield Museum.
Felixstowe, Suffolk (?)	3	Norwich, Castle Museum.
Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire	3	*P.S.A. Scot.* lxvii, 31, fig. 5: 2–4.
Goldsborough, Yorks.	1	*Yorks. Arch. J.* xxiii, 179.
Great Wakering, Essex	1	*B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, p. 107, fig. 131: 1.
Halstock, Dorset	1	*J.B.A.A.* 1863, p. 215.
Hauxton Mill, Cambs.	3	*V.C.H. Cambs.* i, 327, pl. XI, *h–j*.
Icklingham, Suffolk	2	British Museum.
Ixworth, Suffolk	1	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Kingsholm, Glos.	1	Gloucester City Museum.
Lakenheath, Suffolk	1	*V.C.H. Cambs.* 1, 327.
Lansdown, Somerset	1	*Arch. News Letter*, 1955, p. 252.
London	1	*Guildhall Museum Cat.* pl. LXIX, 6.
London	1	R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Vikings*, London, 1927, fig. 22.
Meols, Cheshire	5	A. Hume, *Ancient Meols*, London, 1863, pl. XI.
Meols, Cheshire	1	Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
Reay Links, Dunreay, Caithness	1	*P.S.A. Scot.* lxvii, 32, fig. 7.
Richborough, Kent	1	C. Roach Smith, *The Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lyme*, London, 1850, pl. v.
Selsey, Sussex	1	*Sussex Arch. Coll.* lv, 60, pl. v.
Sevington, Wilts.	8	*Arch.* xxvii, 301.
Souldern, Oxon.	1	*Oxoniensia*, xvii/xviii, 236, fig. 49.
Stevenston Sands, Ayrshire	1	*P.S.A. Scot.* lxvii, 31, fig. 5: 1.
Stratton, Glos.	1	*B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, p. 107, fig. 131: 3.
Sutherlandshire	2	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
Talnotrie, Kirkcudbrightshire	1	*P.S.A. Scot.* xlvii, 14.
Trewhiddle	2	Here published.
Whitby, Yorks.	14	*Arch.* lxxxix, fig. 11.
Woodeaton, Oxon.	1	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
York	1	British Museum.
York, St. Mary's Abbey	1	Yorks. Archit. and Arch. Soc.: *Annual Report*, 1953–4, pp. 12–15.
Youlgrave, Derbyshire	4	British Museum.
Without Provenance	2	British Museum.
Without Provenance	1	Canterbury Museum (Brent collection).
Without Provenance	4	Liverpool Museum, *Liverpool Annals of Arch.* iv, 1911, p. 1.

Find place	*No. in find*	*Publication or, if unpublished, present location*
Kroken, Fjaere, Aust Agder, Norway	1	H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, v, Oslo, 1940, p. 179, fig. 144.
Østebo, Vikedal, Rogaland, Norway	1	H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, v, Oslo, 1940, p. 182, fig. 147.
Haithabu, Schleswig, Germany	1	Schloss Gottorp, Schleswig.

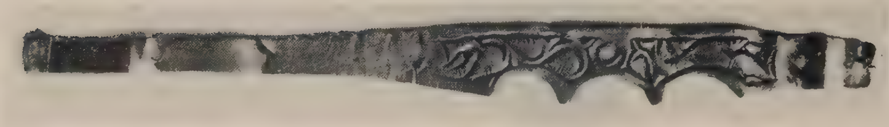

No 9
7
8
9
1
2
3
4
5

The Trewhiddle Hoard as illustrated in the Minute Book of the Society of Antiquaries (slightly reduced)

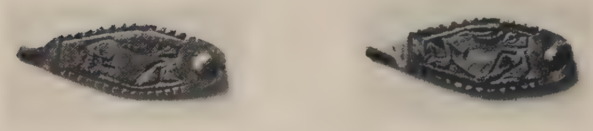
Plate XXIII



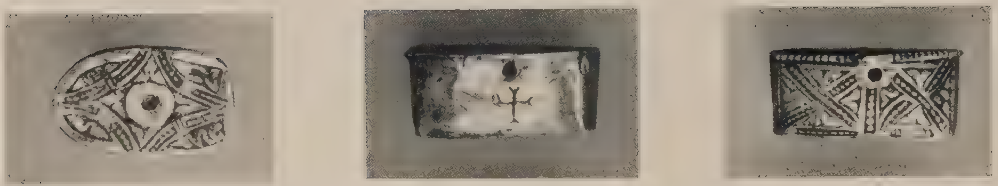
a. The large and the second mount ($\frac{1}{1}$)



b. The small mount ($\frac{1}{1}$)

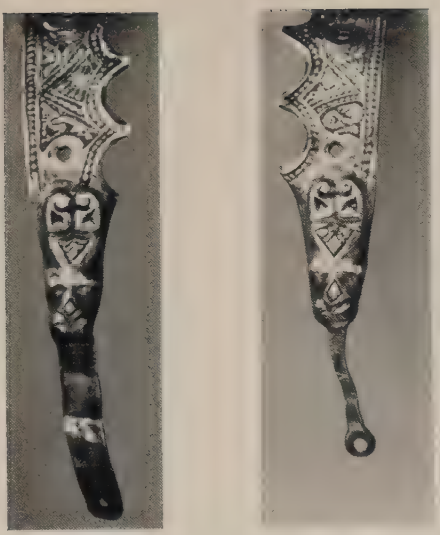


c. The strap-ends ($\frac{1}{1}$)

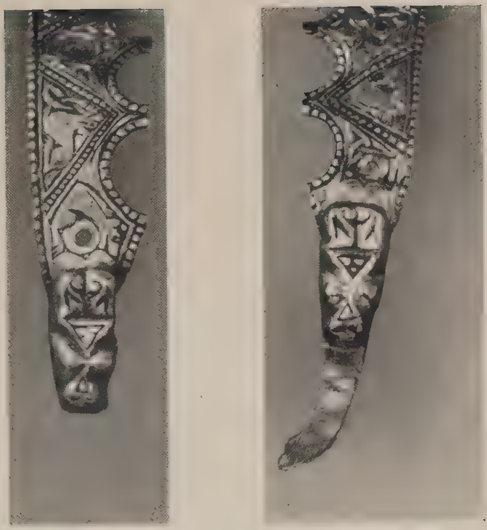


d. The box-like object ($\frac{1}{1}$)

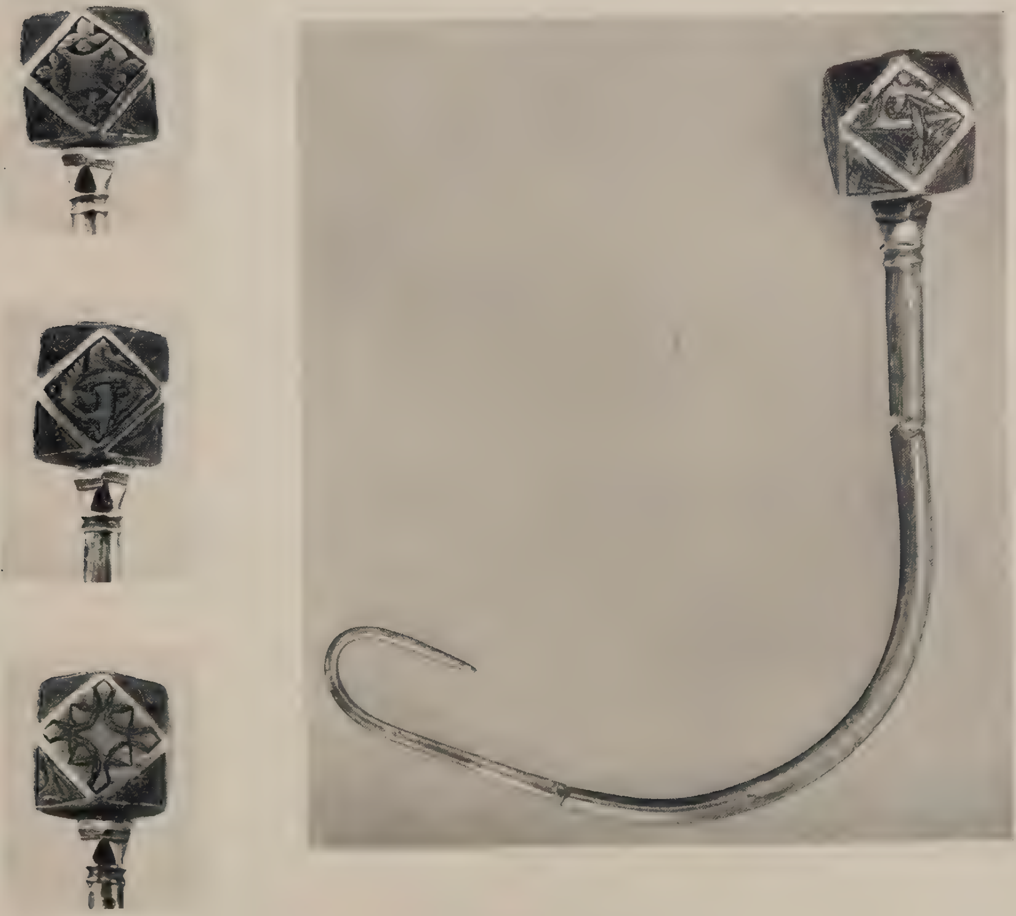
By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



a. Terminals of the second mount



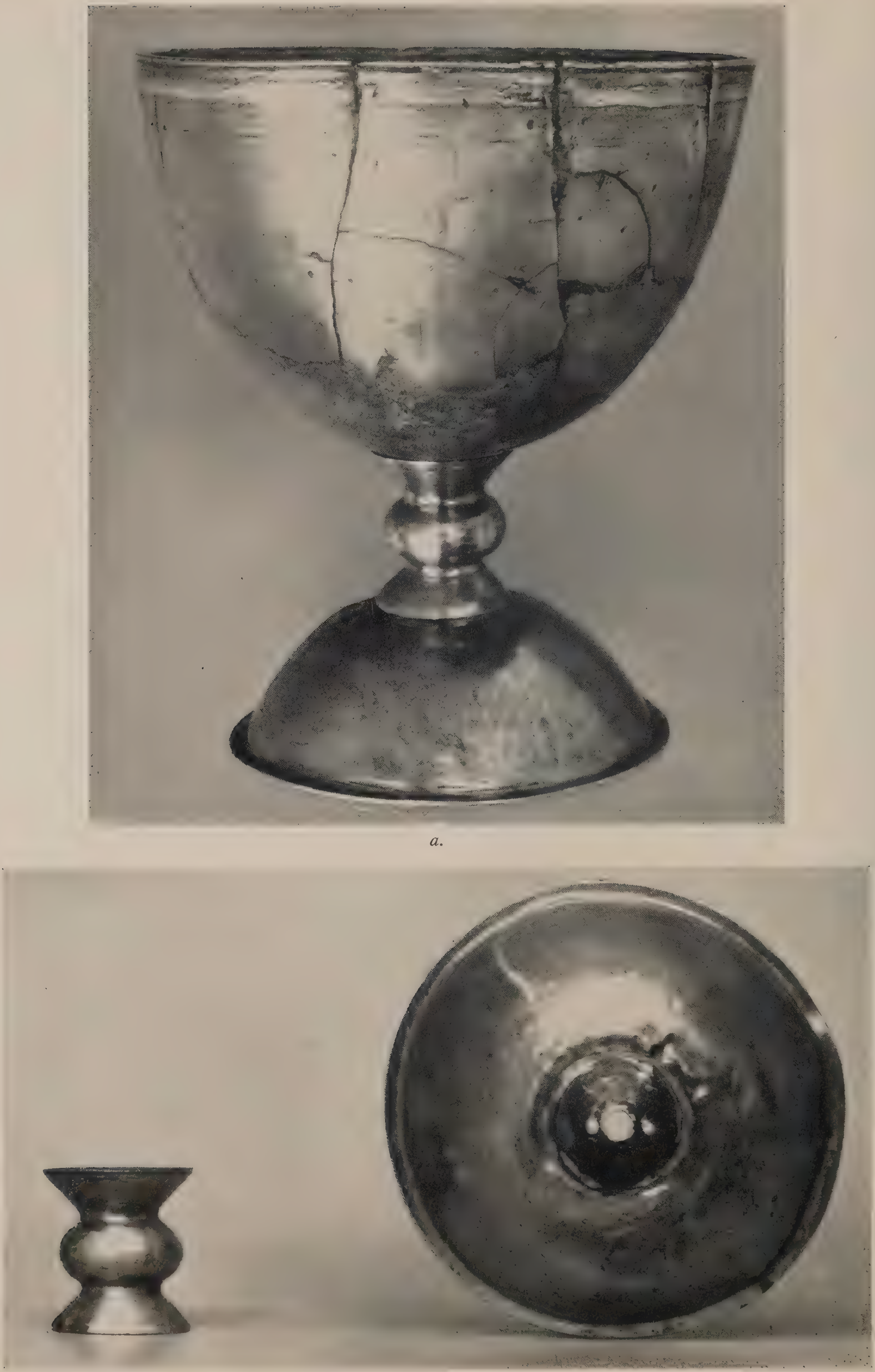
b. Terminals of the large mount



c. The pin, with details of the head $(\frac{1}{1})$

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

Plate XXV

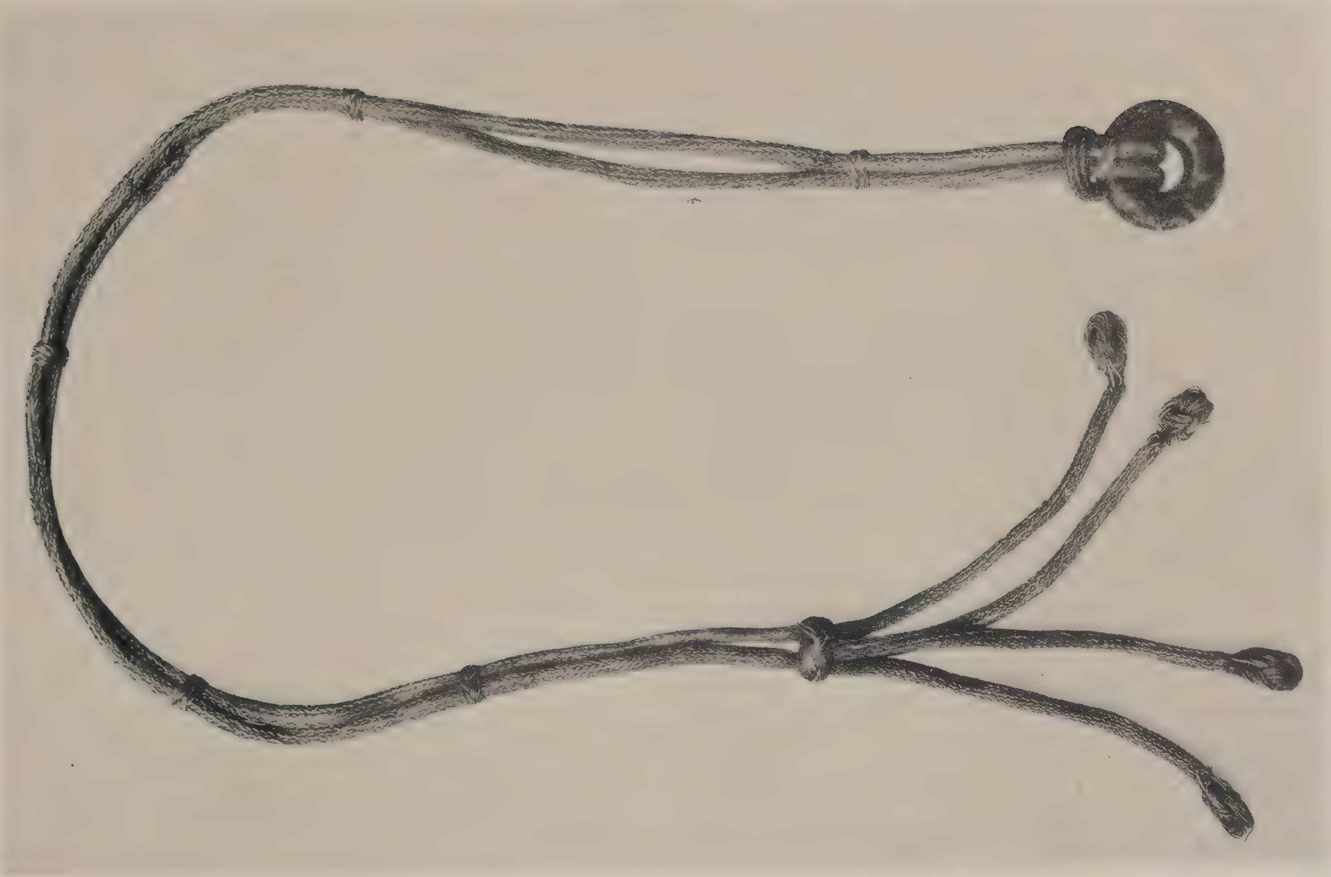


a.

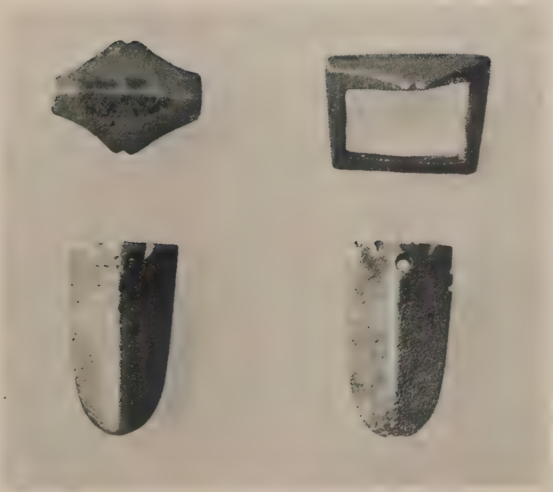
b. *c.*

The chalice, with views of the knop and base

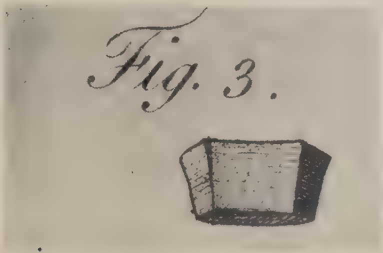
By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



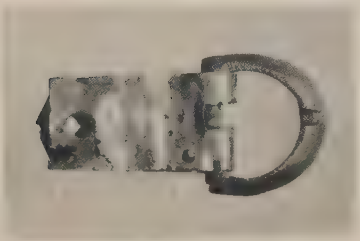
a. The scourge



b. Strap-ends and belt-loops



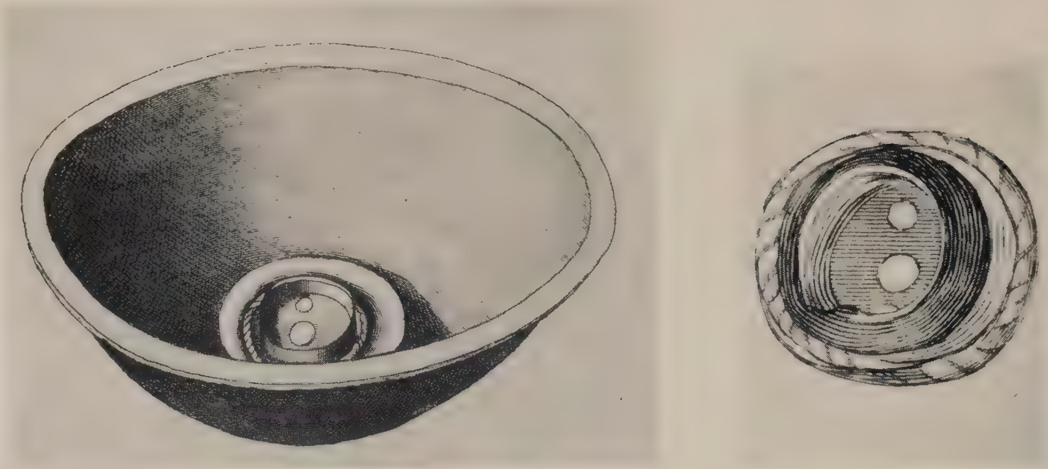
c. The billet of gold (after *Archaeologia*, vol. ix)



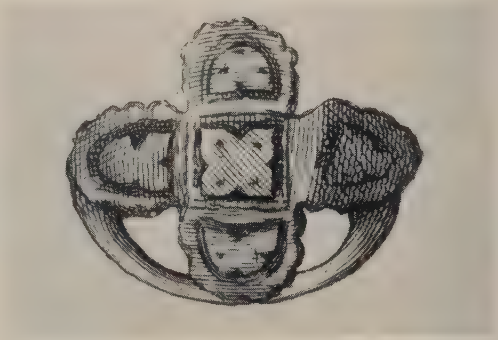
d. The buckle

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

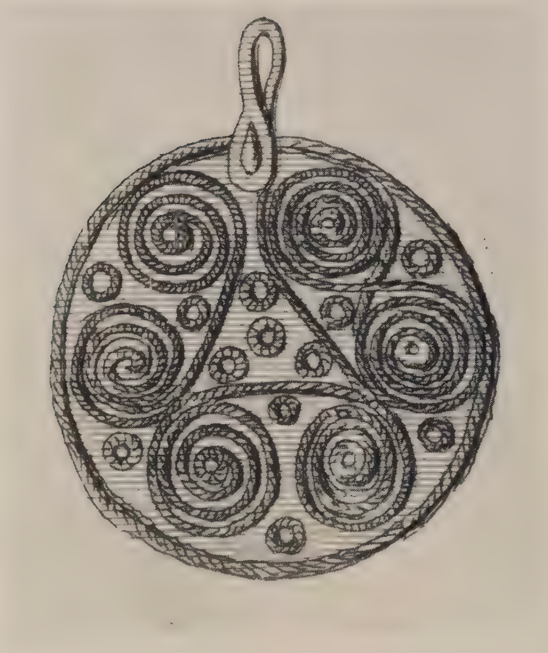
PLATE XXVII



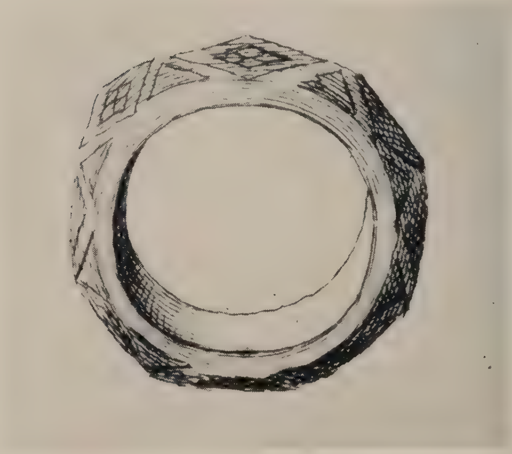
a. The base of the chalice with the collar inside (*Archaeologia* ix) and an enlarged detail of the collar (*Archaeologia* xi)



c. Finger-ring with quatrefoil bezel (*Archaeologia* ix) $(\frac{2}{1})$

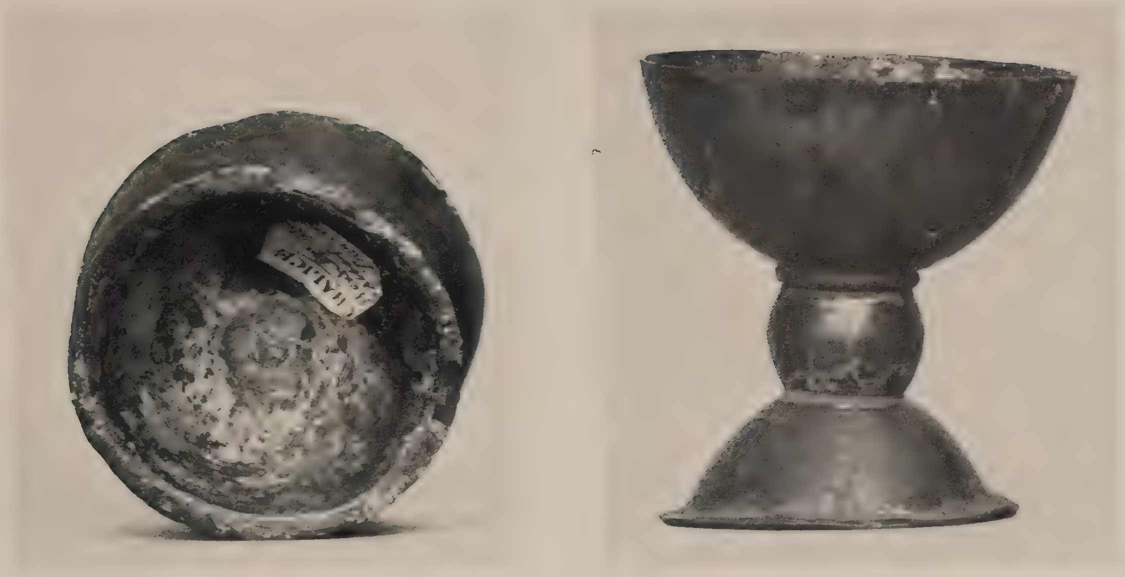


b. The gold pendant $(\frac{2}{1})$ (*Archaeologia* ix)

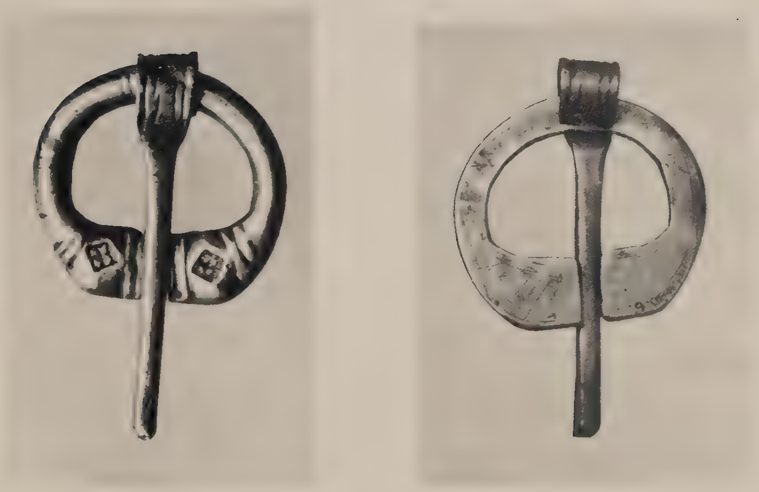


d. Faceted finger-ring (*Archaeologia* ix) $(\frac{2}{1})$

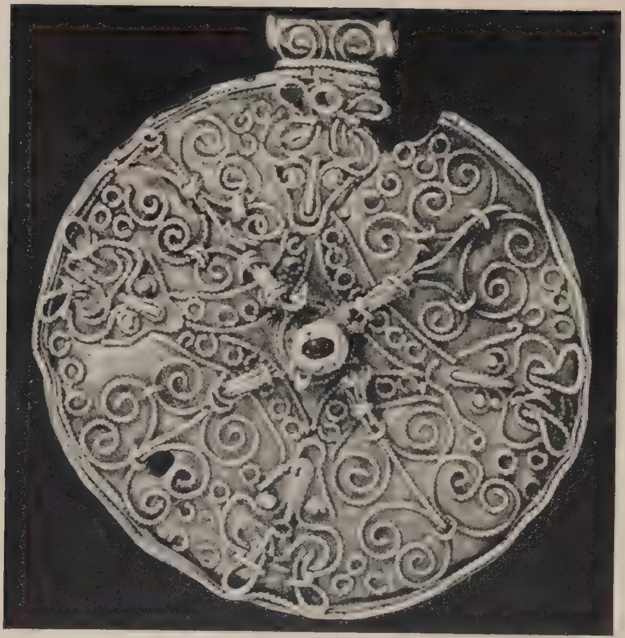
(after Rashleigh, *Archaeologia* ix (1879), pl. viii)



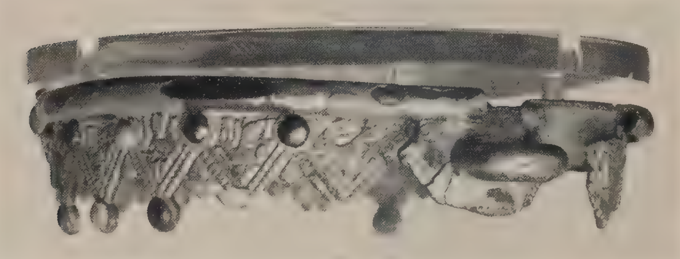
a. The Hexham Chalice ($\frac{1}{2}$)



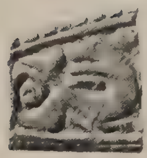
b. The Penannular brooch ($\frac{1}{1}$)
By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



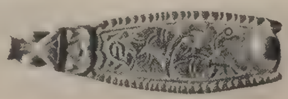
a. Gold pendant from Hon, Norway ($\frac{8}{5}$)
Photo: Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo



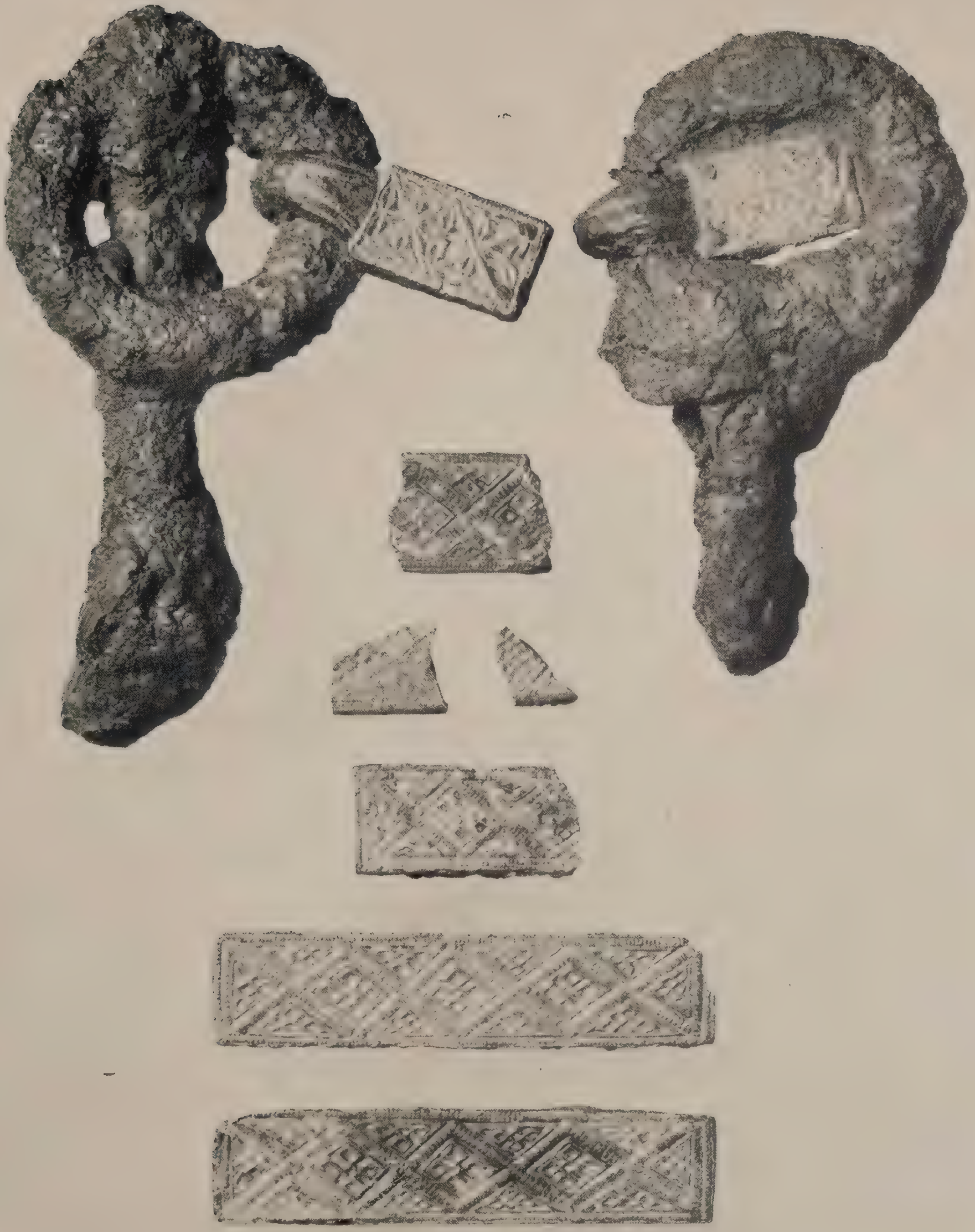
b. The Burghead Mount ($\frac{1}{1}$)
Photo: National Museum of Antiquaries of Scotland



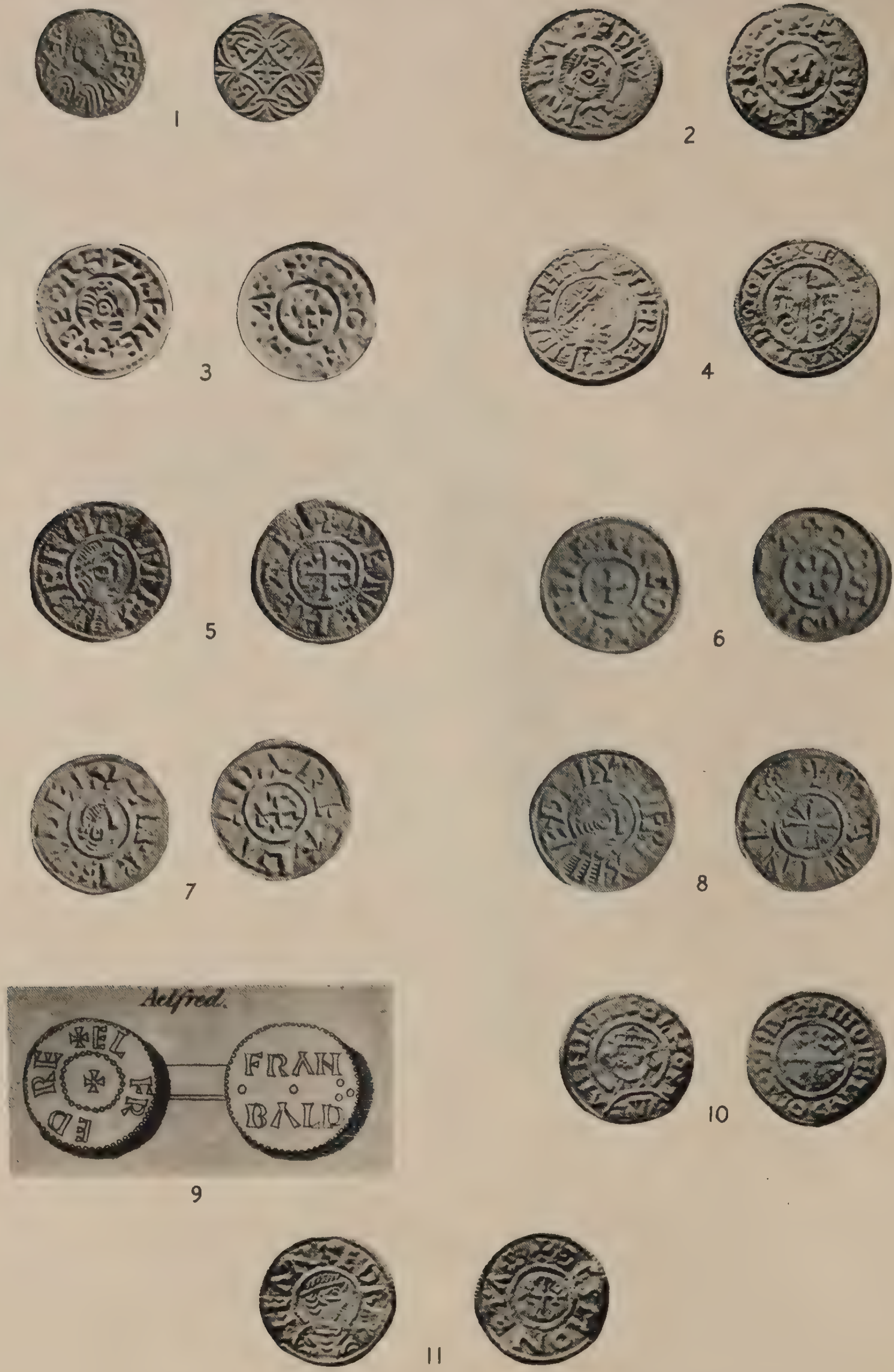
c. Strap-end from Cricklade, Wilts.
Photo: Ashmolean Museum



d. Strap-end from Whitby, Yorks. ($\frac{1}{1}$)
Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum



Horse-bit trappings from Källby, Skåne, Sweden (1/1)
Photo: Lund Universitets Historiska Museum


1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
Aelfred.
ELFRED RE
FRAN BALD
9
10
11

Coins from the Trewhiddle hoard

The Palace of Westminster Sword

By G. C. DUNNING, Esq., F.S.A., and VERA I. EVISON, F.S.A.

I. DISCOVERY OF THE SWORD AND TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SITE

By G. C. DUNNING, F.S.A.

THE sword was found in September 1948 in the course of deep excavations for the foundations of a new underground boiler-house for the Houses of Parliament, in Victoria Tower Gardens on the south side of the House of Lords. As the site lies within the precincts of the medieval Palace of Westminster,[1] the sword has been given this title to distinguish it from other ancient swords found in the region. The sword is Crown property, and after cleaning and preservative treatment in the laboratory of the Ancient Monuments Inspectorate, it has been placed on exhibition in the Jewel Tower at Westminster by kind permission of the Lord Great Chamberlain.

In the photograph (pl. XXXII, *a*) the relations of the site are shown, as seen from a viewpoint across the Thames at Lambeth Bridge House; the site is among the trees in front of Victoria Tower and the House of Lords. Pl. XXXII, *b* is a general view of the excavation from the south-east, with a cross marking the approximate position of the sword. Scenes of this kind are familiar enough to archaeologists working in the City, although of course such a picture, while of general interest, has little scientific value.

The excavation covered an area about 80 ft. by 70 ft., and the central part was carried down to a depth of about 40 ft., into the gravel. As to stratification, a thick deposit of recent and medieval filling covered a deep layer of grey clay, which rested on the gravel. The sword lay at the base of the clay in coarse sand and pebbles on top of the gravel, at a depth of 35 ft. below the surface of Victoria Tower Gardens, that is, 18 ft. below Ordnance Datum. Its position was 60 ft. south of the House of Lords building and 150 ft. west of the present river frontage. The surface of the gravel sloped downwards from west to east across the site, and it also sloped down from north to south; the grey clay was correspondingly deeper on the east and south sides.

The stratification is explained by the topography of Westminster in the post-Roman period. The find-spot of the sword is close to the south-east side of Thorney Island, an eyot of flood-plain gravel now almost entirely covered by Westminster Abbey and the Houses of Parliament. In early times the island was surrounded by marshy alluvium, through which passed the two branches of the river Tyburn, one entering the Thames near Scotland Yard, and the main stream skirting the south side of Thorney Island before reaching the Thames about 150 ft. south of the position of the sword (fig. 1). Thus the sword lay below the marshy alluvial clay on the shelving gravel shore of Thorney Island, between the island and the southern branch of the Tyburn; at the time of its loss the site was probably the left bank of the Thames, and scoured clean to the gravel between tide-levels.[1]

---

[1] On the layout of the Palace of Westminster see papers by Ivy M. Cooper in *Journ. British Arch. Assoc.* 3rd ser. i (1937), 168 and iii (1938), 97.

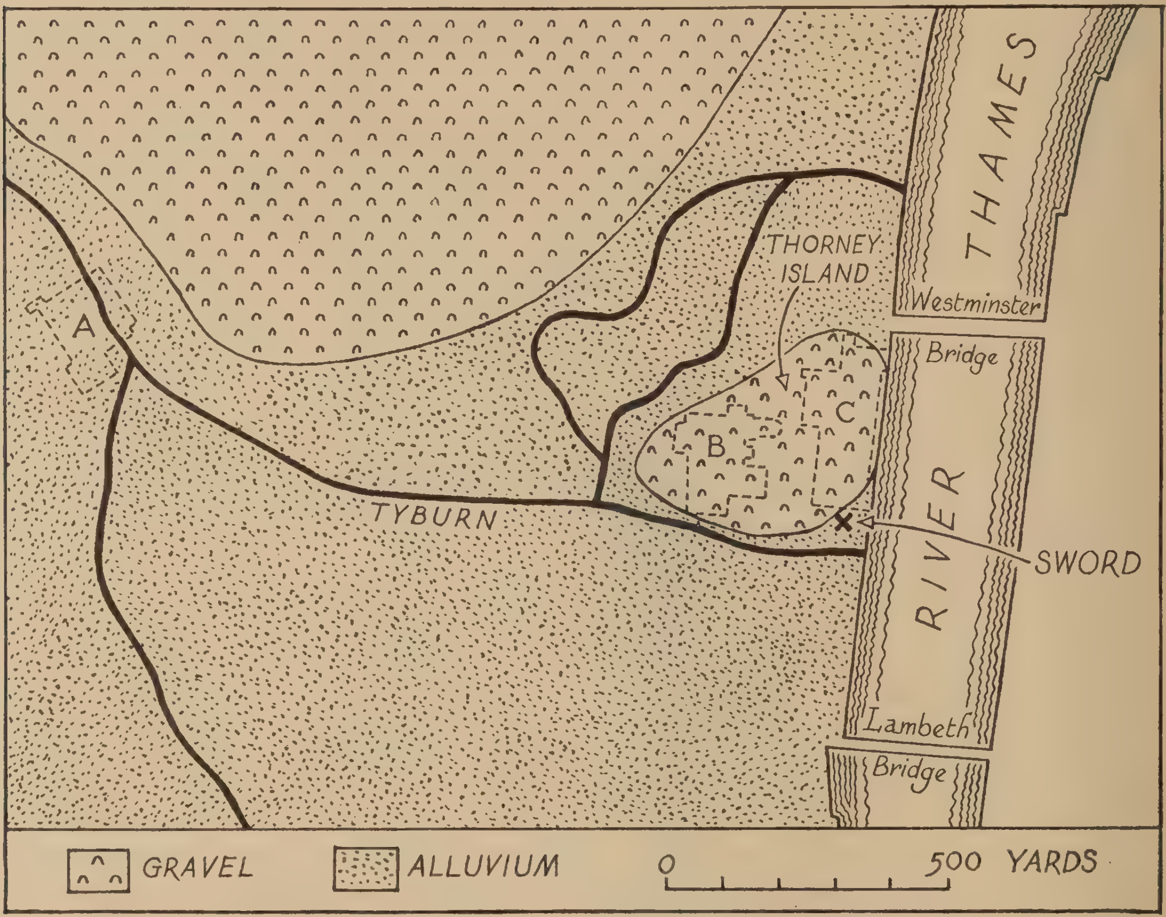


Fig. 1. Sketch-map of Westminster, showing the find-spot of the sword (×) in relation to Thorney Island, the river Tyburn, and the Thames. Buildings added for reference are Buckingham Palace (A), Westminster Abbey (B), and the Houses of Parliament (C).

Nothing was found in association with the weapon, but some distance away in the south-east part of the site two horse skulls and limb-bones were found in the alluvial clay. Apparently the blade was whole when found, but it was broken in two in extraction. The finder stated that the pommel was missing at the time of discovery. The hilt and blade were covered with an incrustation of sand and small pebbles which were readily removed.

---

[1] H. B. Woodward, *Geology of the London District*, p. 77 (Memoir of the Geological Survey, 2nd ed., 1922). The sketch-map (fig. 1) is based on the 6-in. Geological Map of London, by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE SWORD, COMPARATIVE MATERIAL, AND DISCUSSION

By VERA I. EVISON, F.S.A.

DESCRIPTION

The Hilt. The pommel and upper guard are missing, but the lower guard remains and consists of a straight bar 3·5 in. (8·9 cm.) long and 0·9 in. (2·3 cm.) wide in the middle, tapering slightly to each end, its surface being ridged or carinated; in horizontal section it is a wide ellipse with rounded ends and is slightly flattened in three planes on each side (pl. xxxiii, fig. 2). These planes correspond to the three main fields of decoration, each of which is divided into two sections and separated from the next by a border. The central rectangular field is a bronze[1] plate inset into the iron guard in one piece but split up horizontally as far as the pattern is concerned into two halves each bearing a similar chiselled leaf scroll of three convolutions. Each leaf consists of two parts, a nearly circular shape which continues the flowing lines of the vine stem, and a further sub-triangular shape which fills the rest of the space on that side of the stalk. Bordering lines of bronze at the outer edges and along the carination are slashed diagonally. These slashes and all intervening spaces are filled with a black substance still remaining flush with the bronze surface in a few corners, but for the most part reduced to an uneven and pitted residue. This substance is a calcium carbonate and iron carbonate, and was originally apparently a kind of black paste used for ornamentation.[2] The two outer panels are also divided in pattern, but this time vertically, the inner sections containing a similar threefold leaf scroll, and the outer sections two squares with incurved sides and horizontal elliptical shapes within, all the lines being indented with slashes. Originally the zones separating these fields, and also the extreme ends of the guard, must have presented a smooth, flat, shining yellow metal surface, but now they have a striped appearance, the inner zones vertical and the ends horizontal. This is caused by wear, for the technique used here was to score parallel grooves in the iron, insert brass wires in these and hammer the surface flat so that the wire metal spread thinly sideways until it touched to form a seemingly homogeneous sheet. Some of the thinner parts have worn off and only the parts hammered into the grooves are preserved.[3] The wires of the lower section are missing entirely at one end, as well as one complete plate on the reverse side. There is no trace of any embellishments on the upper or lower horizontal surface of the guard, but these may have been covered with a thin metal plate.

The *blade* was broken in finding, but the total approximate length is now 29·4 in. (74·6 cm.). The width is 1·5 in. (4 cm.), with a central double panel of pattern-welding 0·8 in. (2·1 cm.) wide. There is no curvature of a central longitudinal groove to the surface. The two zones of pattern on each side show both herringbone and vermicular designs. These, however, are not the same as the original surface, for, having regard to the state of the blade, it was unfortunately deemed necessary to seek out all traces of rust so that the original surface was entirely removed, and what is left is the pattern of the level of the screw at various stages farther down. The difference between the appearance of the sword when found, and after this exceptionally thorough cleaning, may be seen by comparing the photographs pl. xxxiii, *a* and *b* with *c*. In some of the patches where the patterning is lacking, there seems to be a plain background. If so, this must be a very thin core with the two patterned zones welded on to it on each side. However, neither visual evidence nor the radiographs are sufficient to substantiate this conjecture.

---

[1] A spectrographic analysis (semi-quantitative) of this metal made by Mr. E. M. Jope in the Spectrographic Laboratory, The London Hospital, is as follows:

Main constituents:
Cu of the order 90 per cent.
Zn} Sn} ” ” ” 10 ” ”
Pb of the order 1 per cent.
Ag ” ” ” 0·5–0·1 per cent.
Traces: Co, Ni, Fe, Mn, Bi, V, Sb, Si, P.
None detected: Au, Al, W, As.

[2] Identified by Dr. G. F. Claringbull; see p. 137.

[3] For a diagram of this technique, see *Viking* (1957), p. 207, fig. 40.

The Scabbard. When found, a considerable amount of traces of wood adhered to the blade for about three inches below the crosspiece (pl. xxxiii, *a* and *b*) and there were smaller traces farther down. The fibres ran lengthwise, and the wood has been identified as oak.[1]

Pattern-welding. As the practice of pattern-welding in the manufacture of sword blades went on in Europe from the second to the tenth century A.D., it is not surprising to find references to decorated blades in the heroic literature of that period in England and Scandinavia. Both the hilt and the blade of fine swords were decorated, and in most cases where these weapons are described in the Anglo-Saxon poem of *Beowulf*, it is impossible to be certain which part of the sword the poet is referring to by any specific word.[2] In view of this ambiguity, it is often unprofitable from the archaeological point of view to pursue the poet's imagination through tortuous linguistic paths. There seems to be no doubt of direct reference to ornamented blades, however, in l. 2682 where Naegling, Beowulf's sword, is called *grægmæl*, i.e. 'grey-patterned', and in l. 1667 *brogdenmæl*, i.e. 'interlocked pattern'—probably a term borrowed from weaving. The type of sword which the author of *Beowulf* visualized may have belonged to any period between about A.D. 500 and 700, but the aptness of weaving terms to the pattern-welding process is so obvious that similar expressions are to be found in Scandinavian poems of a later date.[3]

From among the sword references in *Beowulf* it is perhaps worth noting that if *atertanum fah* can be taken to indicate a twig pattern,[4] and if *wyrmfah*, *hringmæl*, and *wægsweord* refer to wavy patterns on the blade, then here we have direct reference to the two main patterns displayed on pattern-welded swords, the difference being caused by the level of the twist actually exposed. The blade of the Westminster sword is a typical example.[5]

---

[1] Identified by Mr. J. Ramsbottom, Keeper of Botany, British Museum (Natural History), and Mr. H. A. Hyde, Keeper of Botany, National Museum of Wales.

[2] e.g. l. 1698 *wyrmfah* (ed. F. Klaeber, 1950) where even the meaning of the word is doubtful: *fah* indicates a distinction in colour or tone effects, and *wyrm* may mean 'serpent' or could be the word for the shellfish murex and mean 'red'. As we know the blades actually had 'shining serpentine forms' and there is no evidence that the Anglo-Saxons covered these blades with a red colouring, the former meaning should be accepted—that is, if the poet was in fact thinking of the blade (cf. R. Cramp, 'Beowulf and Archaeology', *Medieval Archaeology*, i, 67).

[3] See A. Liestøl, 'Blodrefill og mal', *Viking* (1957).

[4] Klaeber, *op. cit.* p. 185, but cf. Hatto, 'Snake swords and boar-helms in Beowulf', *English Studies*, xxxviii, 4, 145–60.

[5] For diagrams of the different patterns obtainable from a screw, see A. France-Lanord, 'La fabrication des épées damassées aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne', *Pays gaumais*, 10^{e} année, nos. 1–2–3 (1949), figs. 8 and 9; Liestøl, *op. cit.* fig. 2.

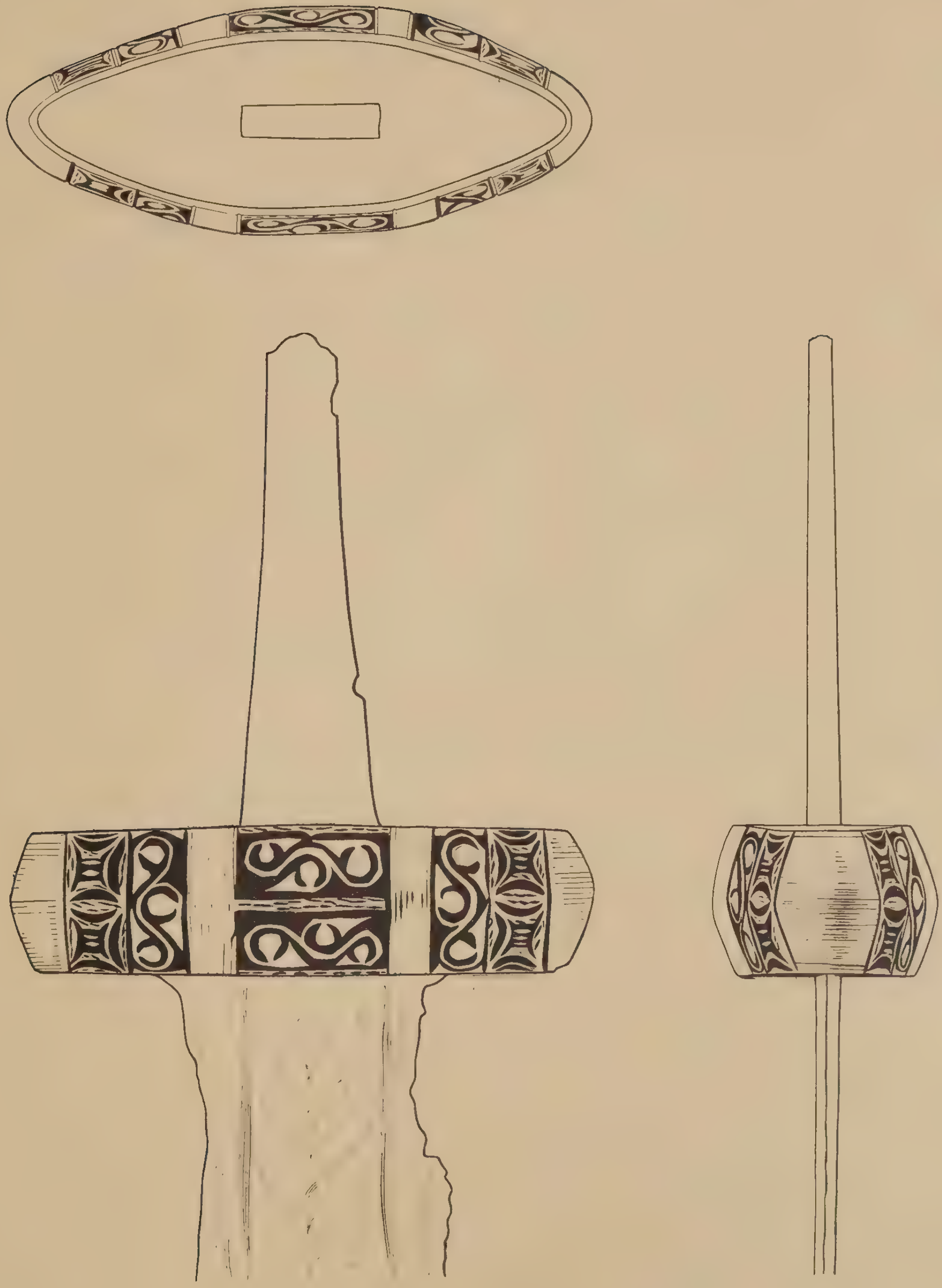


Fig. 2. The Palace of Westminster Sword ($\frac{1}{1}$).

Considerable attention has recently been paid to the method used by the smiths,[1] and M. France-Lanord came to the conclusion that bands composed of alternate iron and steel layers were rolled, folded or twisted, ground down, and welded together to make the decorative zones.[2] The steel produced the light parts of the pattern and the iron the dark streaks. More recently M. Janssens[3] suggested a method of winding a thin rod closely round a larger, five-sided rod, the resulting composite rod then being trimmed and cut in half with a saw before final welding into a blade. The main objection to this is that although the procedure of sawing an iron rod in half longitudinally would not have been impossible, it would have been a difficult and, moreover, an unnecessary procedure.

A series of experiments in the actual making of a complete pattern-welded sword have been carried out by J. W. Anstee of the Museum of English Rural Life (University of Reading), and his practical experience has produced some interesting results.[4] Of the three methods suggested by France-Lanord, it seems that, while the metal strips may be twisted, they may not easily be rolled or folded. Moreover, the use of filler rods is necessary, because when twisted, a bundle of three flat strips leaves considerable hollows in the screw, whereas if a rod with a section of more equal measurements is packed on each side, it fills the grooves in the screw. Further, wrought iron only was used in his experiments, and although after welding the familiar light and dark patterning was evident, analysis showed no appreciable difference in the carbon content of the different coloured metals. It seems that the pattern was produced by the difference of the slag inclusion at the welds in relation to the other parts of the rods.

The ancient smith, too, might have worked with iron strips only, instead of iron and steel alternately, but there is a tradition of the use of the two types of metal according to the Arab writer Biruni who was describing the swords of the Vikings in Russia.[5] All indications available point to the Frankish kingdom, probably the Rhineland, as an important manufacturing centre of these complex blades, and they were probably often exported as blades only, the hilts being added at their destination. In recent years, however, the examination of blades by radiography has increased, and the high incidence of pattern-welding revealed suggests that native smiths, too, were capable of this type of work.

LITERATURE ON COMPARATIVE CONTINENTAL SWORDS

As early as 1919 J. Petersen made a comprehensive study of swords found in Norway which belong to the Viking period,[6] and came to the conclusion that many of the weapons discussed were made in Norway, but many also must have been imported. It is not always clear which these were, but in some cases where the hilts are richly decorated it is possible to identify the country of origin. The Rhineland was responsible for several of the better products, and towards the end of the ninth century hilts splendidly decorated with silver and niello and with curved guards, like the hilt of the sword found at Abingdon,[1] proclaim the source of supply as southern England. Some of the weapons were no doubt acquired during annual plundering excursions, but the existence of considerable trade between the Rhineland and the Vikings in these and other wares is certain.

---

[1] Liestøl, *op. cit.* and the literature quoted there; also E. Salin, *La civilisation mérovingienne*, iii (1957), 57 ff.

[2] A. France-Lanord, *op. cit.*

[3] M. Janssens, 'Essai de reconstitution d'un procédé de fabrication des lames d'épées damassées', *Conservation*, iii (1958), 3.

[4] Summarized in *Nature*, clxxviii (1956), 1433–4.

[5] A. Zeki Valiki, 'Die Schwerter der Germanen nach Arabischen Berichten des 9–11 Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, xc (1936), 19–37; and E. Salin, *op. cit.* pp. 90 ff.

[6] J. Petersen, *De Norske Vikingesverd*, 1919.

Petersen began by discussing the swords in use during the transition period between the Migration period and Viking times. To this belong his Types A and B and also two swords which he decided to group as Special Type 1.[2] One of these, from Steinsvik, Lødingen (his fig. 56), was ornamented with inset plates in gripping-beast style, bordered by inlaid wire strips, some of which are braided. This arrangement of three panels of decoration interspersed with vertical parallel wires is unusual, but corresponds to that on the Westminster sword.

The Steinsvik sword guard, however, has a surface that is curved but not keeled. This keeling combined with wide elliptical horizontal section and vertically inlaid wires are characteristics belonging to another of Petersen's types—H, which has a wide-sectioned upper hilt and triangular pommel. This is the largest group of Viking swords and was in use from A.D. 800 to 950. The striped ornamentation, however, was usually an overall one, either in simple stripes or geometric patterns, only occasionally splitting into three horizontal divisions.[3] Other types of similar form, such as D and E, are also easily distinguishable by their decoration, and lie beyond the range of related designs. Amongst his earliest group of Viking swords Petersen also pointed out one sword as a Special Type 2 (his fig. 72), which in view of its tripartite pommel, keeled guards, and striped inlay is also of interest here.

It was not until 1934 that any appreciable additions were made to this part of Petersen's imposing survey. In this year, Gutorm Gjessing[4] brought forward the information that since Petersen wrote, six more swords of his Special Type 1 had been found, and three related examples, thereby providing a sufficient body of evidence for a recognizable type. Some of these bore no traces of ornament, but a few were decorated.

With the Steinsvik sword Gjessing compared the hilt from the River Escaut near Termonde in Belgium,[5] and this is in fact a very near parallel to the Westminster hilt also. The scheme of ornament on the guards bears close comparison: there are three bronze plates, each in two sections, but with the difference that the division of the pattern each time comes on the carination and does not carry over it as in the case of the side panels of the Westminster sword. The device in each panel is an S-scroll, and the ends and intervening spaces are filled with vertically inlaid wires. Vertical inlaid wires cover the tripartite pommel and a thick beaded band divides the segments.

---

[1] Previously called the Wallingford sword; Bruce-Mitford, 1956, pl. XXI, B.

[2] Petersen, 1919, p. 63.

[3] There are, however, examples of closer connexion with panelled schemes like the sword from Spirdingsee, Lucknainen, Kr. Sensburg, East Prussia, where the device of vertical stripes is divided into a central panel of horizontal plan bounded by vertical plaited wires: *Mannus*, xxi, Taf. III, 4*a* and *b*. Only one H hilt was mentioned by Petersen as being ornamented with silver plates, but this seems to be a mistake as his reference to Oslo Museum No. 'C 15917 Garder Ullensaker, Akh.' actually refers to a winged spearhead with inlaid silver plates.

[4] G. Gjessing, 1934.

[5] *Annales de la Soc. Arch. de Bruxelles*, xxi (1907), 81; *ibid.* xxxiii (1927), 85; H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, iv (1940), p. 124, fig. 81.

A rather different group of swords, but nevertheless belonging to the same general type, and of special reference to the one being studied, was later singled out by Arbman as occurring in Sweden, principally on Gotland.[1] The pommels are trilobed and the decoration consists of inlaid wires in stripes and brass plaques.

The arrangement of the inlay on these guards varies somewhat from previously mentioned swords in that the scheme consists of three horizontal zones. This is a relic of the Merovingian sword which first had only wooden guards; later the wooden guard was sandwiched between two metal plates riveted together,[2] and after that the threefold composition was retained even when the filling in the sandwich was also made of metal.[3] The central brass band bears geometric figures or an inscription, and in the case of the hilt from Stora Ihre, Gotland, Grave 363,[4] a pattern giving the impression of a continuous tendril scroll. This seems to be a poor copy of the leaf-scroll in the central panel of the hilt from Mannheim[5] which stands very close to the scroll on the Westminster sword, for, although the scale is smaller, each wave of the scroll contains a leaf divided into two parts, one circular and the other triangular. Arbman assigned a date in the last part of the eighth century to the group on the basis of the associated finds with one of the Gotland swords, but considered some to be ninth-century products.

Salmo, writing in 1938 on the weapons of the Merovingian period in Finland, illustrated three hilts which have a bearing on this inquiry. One, from Kaarina, Ristimäki,[6] belongs to Special Type 1, and although in a bad state, it is possible to see that the decoration is arranged in panels as on the Steinsvik sword. An unusual detail of similarity to the Westminster guard is the placing of the wires in the terminal panels in a horizontal instead of a vertical direction. According to Salmo, the other finds in the horseman's grave from which the sword comes indicate the turn of the Merovingian and Viking periods, i.e. the beginning of the ninth century at the latest. To Petersen's Special Type 2 he attributes two Finnish swords[7] which have shorter guards.

The name 'Mannheim Type' was suggested by Professor Jankuhn for the group of swords closely related to the one found in the Rhine at Mannheim and which is the finest and probably also the earliest of the type. Even this can be further subdivided into two main typological and chronological groups. The swords from Neuburg and Grave 363 at Stora Ihre follow the style of the Mannheim hilt by reason of their low broad pommels and imitations of the running-foliage pattern, and they probably come from the Frankish area in the second half of the eighth century. The other division has a higher pommel, sometimes trellis-pattern inlay, and is later. A small group of three swords bears inscriptions or bad copies of these.

In 1952 Aner, writing about the chamber-graves of Haithabu, mentioned the sword in the boat-chamber grave excavated by Knorr[8] which belongs to Petersen's

---

[1] Arbman, 1937, pp. 218–22.

[2] Behmer, 1939, Taf. XLIV, 1*b*.

[3] *Ibid.* Taf. XLVI, *a*.

[4] Arbman, 1937, pl. 68, 1.

[5] *Ibid.* pl. 68, 5 *a* and *b*.

[6] H. Salmo, 'Die Waffen der Merowingerzeit in Finnland', *Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, xlii (1938), 111–13, Abb. 36.

[7] *Ibid.* pp. 114–16, Taf. X, 2, XVI, 2.

[8] Fr. Knorr, 'Bootkammergrab südlich der Oldenburg bei Schleswig', *Mitt. d. Anthrop. Ver. Schleswig-Holstein*, xix (1911), 68.

Special Type 1, and in a footnote he suggested shortly a classification of these swords[1] into four groups. His Groups I and II represent a division of Special Type 1 into an undecorated type of the first half of the eighth century continuing into the second half, and a richly decorated type of about A.D. 800. The Special Type 2 is divided into the Mannheim type of the second half of the eighth century continuing into the ninth, and Petersen's Special Type 2 is grouped with the Finnish swords of the early ninth century.

Other authors who have touched upon this subject are: Wheeler,[2] Nordman,[3] La Baume,[4] and Hoffmeyer,[5] but in these instances a much larger framework was involved, and only a minor part assigned to hilts of relevance here.

DISCUSSION

Since two examples of these swords were first noticed in Norway by Petersen, the number of others found, both in Scandinavia and on the continent, not only makes their southern origin become more evident, but also makes it increasingly necessary to distinguish variants. From the examples published so far it is possible to elucidate the following:

The two hilts Petersen called *Saertyp* 1 and *Saertyp* 2 are similar inasmuch as they both have fairly short, straight guards, and a separate trilobed pommel, and for this reason students have found it difficult to keep them distinct. It seems, however, that the clearest distinction is that in Special Type 1 the two side lobes of the pommel have a dip in the profile so that the shape is very near to the original animal snout of earlier swords. The side lobes of Special Type 2 are, on the contrary, completely convex and seem less likely to be descended from animal-headed originals. This will be taken as the basis of differentiation between the two types, which are here styled Group 1 and Group 2. One other characteristic has not been stressed, but appears to be of almost equal importance. This is the horizontal section or plan of the hilts, not usually visible on published photographs. In the following discussion, the Group 1 (*a*) has a plan of straight, parallel sides with rounded ends, but this is exceptional, and is the forerunner of the later Petersen's K type on which the guards are longer. All the rest of Group 1 have lenticular sections. In Group 2 the lenticular section occurs in subdivisions (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), but in the case of some of the Mannheim type (*a*) and in the 2 (*b*) hilts where the surface is not keeled, the ends of the guards are rounded so that the plan is oval.

Group 1

(*a*) The famous sword found at Suffelweihersheim near Strasbourg[6] (pl. XXXIV, *a*, *b*, fig. 3, 1) clearly belongs to a period later than the Merovingian in view of the weight and size of its pommel, but its ornamentation cannot be far divorced from that period. Its guards and pommel are decorated in a technique of brass wires inlaid in iron in the form of S-shaped animals reminiscent of the large Burgundian iron buckle-plates of the seventh century. The garnets used for the eyes and the ornamental rivets on the hilts belong to the same time. Although undecorated, the sword from Vestre Grini, Gjerpen, Telemark (fig. 3, 2), is very similar, and is dated by associated finds to the eighth century.[1] The guards of both swords are flat-sided with round ends in horizontal section. An intermediate stage in development to the K type is shown by the sword from Østby, Sigdal, Buskerud[2] (fig. 3, 3), where the guards are longer, and the pommel of similar shape although five-lobed.[3]

---

[1] E. Aner, 'Das Kammergräberfeld von Haithabu', *Offa*, x (1952), 61–115; see note 264, p. 112.

[2] R. E. M. Wheeler, *London and the Vikings* (1927), 34. These swords seem to be submerged, along with Petersen Types D and E, in his Type III.

[3] C. A. Nordman, 'Vapnen i Nordens forntid' in B. Thordeman, *Våpen* (1944), 49.

[4] P. La Baume, 'Die Wikingerzeit auf den Nordfriesischen Inseln', *Jahrb. des Nordfriesischen Vereins für Heimatkunde und Heimatliebe*, xxix (1953), 13.

[5] A. B. Hoffmeyer, *Middelalderens Tveæggede Sværd*, i (1954), 28–30. The sword, pl. II*c*, classified as Type U was recognized by Jankuhn as belonging to the Mannheim group (his Taf. I. 3). The hilt referred to on p. 27 as possibly being one of the Special Type 1 appears from the drawing in S. Müller, *Vor Oldtid* (1897), fig. 407, to be Type D.

[6] L. Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer uns. Heid. Vorzeit*, iii, Heft xi, Taf. IV, 2 *a* and *b*.

(*b*) All the rest of Group 1 have guards elliptical in shape. Among those undecorated is the one from Skjønne (Nore, Busk.) illustrated by Petersen,[4] a single-edged sword from Nedre Bakkene, Ulnes, Nord Aurdal, Opland (fig. 3, 4), believed to be associated with an object of the first part of the eighth century, and a one-edged sword from Nøstegård, Lesja, Opland[5] (fig. 3, 5). All these have a keeled surface to the guards. Their find-spots, lack of decoration, and the two single-edged blades point to a likely origin in Norway.

(*c*) Hilts of the same shape but decorated with metal wires inlaid vertically may be grouped together. One of the swords from Buxtehude[6] has a pommel, upper guard, and also the remains of a U-shaped chape inlaid with bronze wires. According to the reasoning set out by Jankuhn, this was a Saxon cemetery in use in the second half of the eighth century. The Norwegian sword from Halle, Tanum, Brunlanes, Vestfold (pl. XXXV, *a*, fig. 3, 6), is dated by accompanying finds to the eighth century.[7] One of the swords from the boat-chamber grave at Haithabu is of this group, although originally allocated to Type K by Petersen. All its hilt surface is covered with pairs of inlaid vertical wires alternately white and yellow and the pommel lobes are marked off by beaded wire (pl. XXXV, *b*).[8] The hilt from the Rhine at Speyer[9] (pl. XXXIV, *c*, *d*, fig. 3, 7) is also decorated with stripes, but because of its comparative size and superiority of execution should perhaps be placed a little later. In this case the wires are beaten flat to make a smooth, plated surface, and the alternate stripes of white and yellow metal each consist of five inlaid wires. The lobes of the pommel are divided by silver bands roughly cut in very thick beading.

(*d*) The Steinsvik (Hol, Lødingen, Nordland) sword (fig. 3, 8, pl. XXXVI)[10] is an outstanding example of a Group 1 sword decorated not only with inlaid wires but also with inlaid plates. Most of the wires are vertical and silver, but on the side lobes they are diagonal and the divisions between the lobes are emphasized by an inlaid plait of

---

[1] Gjessing, 1934, p. 107 and pl. XXVI, *a*, C. 25396*a*.

[2] *Ibid.* 109.

[3] The sword in Leiden museum, H. Shetelig, *op. cit.* iv, fig. 79, decorated with inset jewel cells is likely to be of much the same date as the Suffelweihersheim hilt, and demonstrates connexions between Merovingian techniques, Special Type 1 and Type H.

[4] Petersen, 1919, fig. 55; Gjessing, 1934, 108, pl. XXVII, *a*.

[5] Gjessing, 1934, 107, C. 24193; *Univ. Olds. Årbok* (1928), s. 98, Nr. 27, fig. 2.

[6] Lindenschmit, *op. cit.* v, Bd. 4, Taf. 60, Abb. 2.

[7] Gjessing, 1934, 107, pl. XXVII, *b*; *Univ. Olds. Årbok* (1929), 212, Nr. 129, fig. 19.

[8] F. Knorr, *op. cit.* Taf. XIII, 2; Aner, *op. cit.* Abb. 19; Petersen, 1919, 110.

[9] Lindenschmit, *op. cit.* iii, Heft. xi, Taf. IV, 1 *a* and *b*.

[10] Petersen, 1919, p. 65, fig. 56; H. Shetelig, *Oseberg*, iii, fig. 294*a* and *b*.

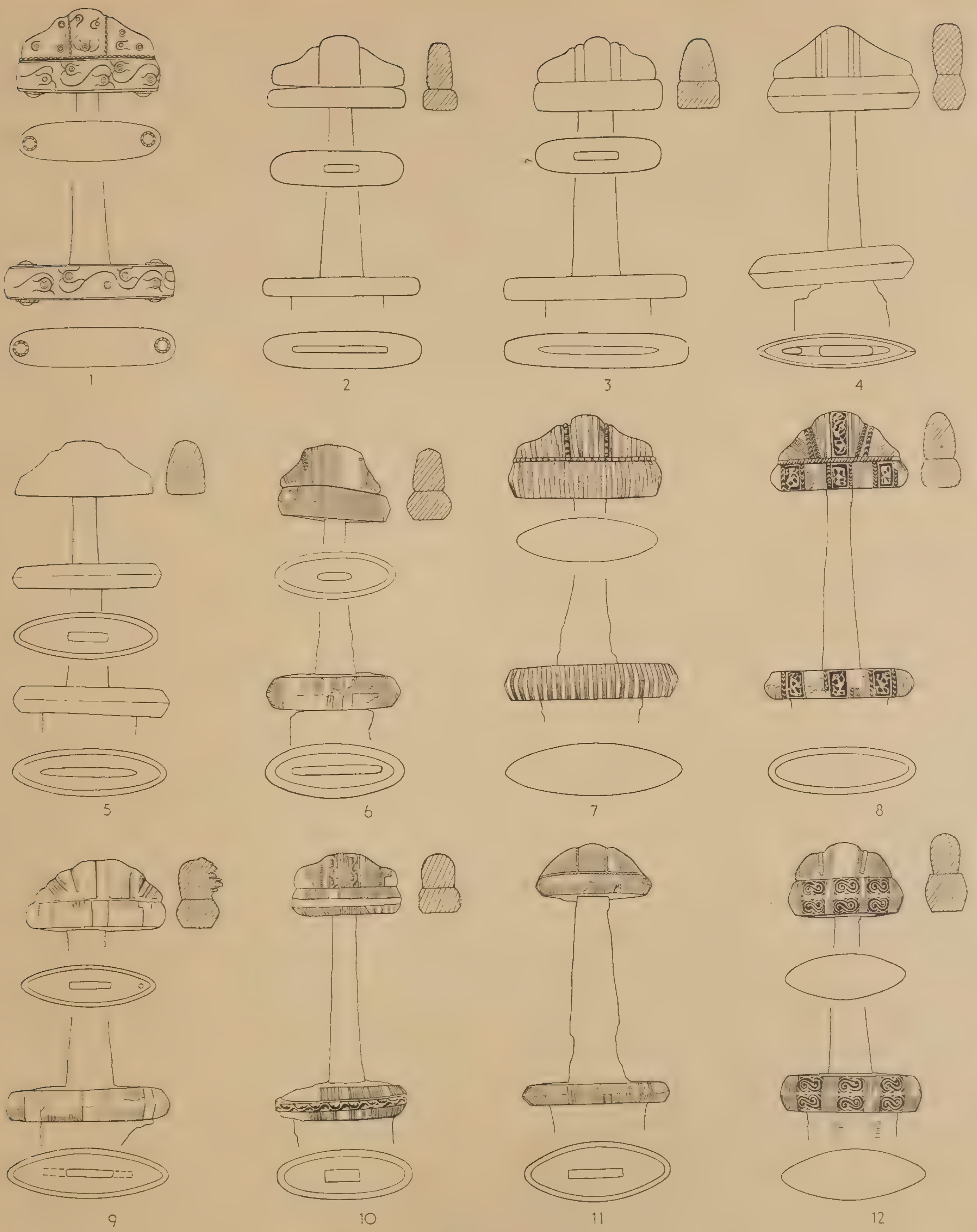


FIG. 3. Group 1*a*: 1. Suffelweihersheim, near Strasbourg; 2. Vestre Grini, Gjerpen, Telemark; 3. Østby, Sigdal, Buskerud. Group 1*b*: 4. Nedre Bakkene, Nord Aurdal, Opland; 5. Nøstegård, Lesja, Opland. Group 1*c*: 6. Halle, Brunlanes, Vestfold; 7. Rhine at Speyer. Group 1*d*: 8. Steinsvik, Lødingen, Nordland; 9. Håheim, Jolster, Sogn og Fjordane. Group 2*a*: 10. Rhine at Mannheim. Group 2*b*: 11. Wijk bij Duurstede, Holland. Group 2*c*: 12. Termonde, Belgium ($\frac{1}{3}$).

red and white metal, and a plait of filigree wires beside it. On each guard there are three rectangular yellow-bronze plates bordered by inlaid plaits, and a similar, longer plate lies vertically along the centre of the pommel. These plates are decorated with an early version of the gripping-beast style, for each panel contains a human-headed or animal-headed quadruped. The surface of the guards is convex but not keeled. According to Petersen its accompanying axe and spear indicate a date before the Viking period, and the sword itself is likely to have been made about A.D. 800. The same type of axe was also found with a sword at Håheim[1] (Jolster, Sogn og Fjordane) (fig. 3, 9, pl. XXXVII, *a*) and, although there is no decoration left, it is evident from the photograph that inlay of wires and plates was arranged in much the same way, the only difference being that the surface of the guards is carinated. The type is even found in Finland, at Ristimäki, Kaarina,[2] where the inlay is similar but in copper only, and the wires on the ends of the guards are horizontal. This weapon belongs to a richly furnished horseman's grave no later than the beginning of the ninth century. The pattern on the plates is not distinguishable, but is flatter than the gripping beasts of Steinsvik, and may well have been the less plastic kind of decoration on the plates of another sword of the type from the Meuse, near Aalburg, Holland[3] (pl. XXXVII, *b*, *c*). Here there are vertical wires only on the guards, but there is a vertical plate in the centre of the pommel with a design worn and indistinct in detail, but part of which is a backward-glancing animal of the kind seen on strap ends of the period in Holland,[4] and related to those on the Tassilo chalice.[5]

Group 2

(*a*) Among the Special Type 2 is the group of swords studied in detail by Professor Jankuhn and called the Mannheim type after the find-spot of the finest of them (pl. XXXVIII, *a*, fig. 3, 10) and even within this, two categories with another subsidiary were delineated by him. The most distinctive feature of this group is the division of the hilt surface into three horizontal zones for the purpose of decoration. Some of the guards are of oval section with rounded ends, e.g. Buxtehude,[6] as well as four of the Swedish swords,[7] while others are lenticular.[8] Although the Mannheim type is easily distinguishable, it includes variants and these range from the end of the eighth to the beginning of the ninth century.

The sword listed by Arbman (pl. 69) and Jankuhn (Abb. 1) under Antum, Holland, did not come from that grave, as was pointed out by Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, iv,

---

[1] Gjessing, 1934, p. 106, note 2.

[2] *Finska Fornm. Tidskrift*, xli (1938), 111, fig. 36.

[3] Leiden Museum, K. 1948/12.1. W. C. Braat, 'Acht Frühmittelalterliche Schwerter aus dem Rijksmuseum van Oudheden zu Leiden', *Analecta Archaeologica, Festschrift Fritz Fremersdorf* (1960), no. 6, Taf. 13, 6, Taf. 15, 6.

[4] e.g. Haseloff, 1951, Abb. 31, Taf. 15, 4.

[5] This sword has recently been mentioned by Professor Werner, 'Frühkarolingische silveröhrringe von Rastede (Oldenburg)', *Germania*, xxxvii (1959), 185, note 30, with the suggestion that the plate is re-used. Comparison with the other pommels of this type shows that a decorated plate is normal in such a position. However, the plate has been cleaned since I saw it in 1958, and Professor Werner tells me that his reason for thinking it is a re-used piece is that the design is cut off and incomplete.

[6] Jankuhn, 1939. Taf. II, 3; the lower guard is misshapen by rust to a certain extent, and may have had slightly flatter sides than the upper guard.

[7] Sanda, Gotland, Gotlands Fornsal Inv. B. 1915, Arbman, 1937, Taf. 68, 3; St. Ihre, Gotland, Grave 194, SHM 20550, Arbman, Taf. 68, 2; Birka Grave 942, Arbman, Taf. 65, 6; and Gävle, Gästrikland, Inv. 13279, Arbman, p. 220.

[8] St. Ihre, Gotland, Grave 363, Arbman, Taf. 68, 1; Burge, Lummelunda, Gotland, Inv. 16905; Gotland, Arbman, Taf. 68, 4.

107 and 117. The sword has recently been cleaned and its appearance may be seen from fig. 4 which corrects earlier illustrations and descriptions. Its provenance is De Wierhuizen, gem. Appingedam. (Groninger museum v. Stad en Lande, inv. nr. 1911. vi. 1.)[1]

The later Petersen Type K hilts with their elongated guards and five-sectioned pommels no doubt owe much to this type, and it is singularly likely also that the foliate scroll of the Mannheim sword gave rise to the scroll-decoration sometimes adorning Type K[2] although the technical method of achieving it is different.

In connexion with the Mannheim type, one other sword imported into England at this early date should be mentioned. This is the sword found at Reading, Berks. (pl. XXXVIII, *b*)[3] together with the skeleton of a man and a horse. The sword now seems to be lost, but the drawing and description published in 1867 give a credible version of its appearance. No scale is provided, but the grip is said to be too small for a man, and 'The pommel and guard are formed of a metal resembling pale copper, inlaid with silver, the former being ornamented with what appear to be imperfectly executed figures of men and animals'. Both the upper and lower surfaces of the lower guard are ornamented with stamped circles. However, from the drawing of the top surface of the upper guard showing four rivet holes but no decoration, it is evident that this was originally covered by a pommel. The threefold horizontal division of

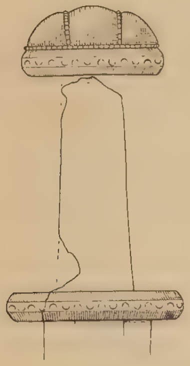


FIG. 4. De Wierhuizen, gem. Appingedam. ($\frac{1}{3}$).

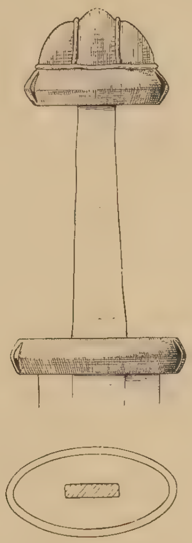


FIG. 5. Maarhuizen, gem. Winsum, Groningen ($\frac{1}{3}$).

---

[1] Fig. 4 is taken from a drawing by Mr. J. Ypey, Amersfoort, who is preparing the sword for publication, and kindly allows me to include the figure here. Since this drawing was made, traces have been found of two vertical bands on the central segment of the pommel similar to the horizontal bands on the guards. Mr. Ypey also calls my attention to a sword at the museum of Wijk bij Duurstede which has not yet been cleaned, but also appears to be of this type.

[2] Gravraak, Melhus, Norway, Petersen, fig. 89; Kilmainham, H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, iii, fig. 3; Ballinderry Crannog, *ibid.* figs. 49–51, and *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* xlvii, Section C, no. 1 (1942), figs. 49–51; Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire du mobilier français*, v, 365.

[3] *P.S.A.* iii, 461; *V.C.H. Berks.* i, 243; Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, vi, 79–80.

the guards contains vertical lines in the outer zones, and horizontal lines at the ends of the inner zone, which have the appearance of inlaid wires, and, judging from the original description, these may have been silver wires inlaid in bronze.[1] The central panel must have been in gripping-beast style, and should be compared with the panels in the Steinsvik hilt (fig. 3, 8).[2] It is no doubt later than the Mannheim and Steinsvik swords, probably belonging to the early part of the ninth century. The shallowness of the burial—only 2–3 ft. below the surface—together with the absence of any grave goods except the sword which was hidden by the carcase of the horse, may indicate the hasty burial of either an Anglo-Saxon or an early Viking.

(*b*) Along with Petersen's example of Special Type 2 from Rimstad (his fig. 72) should be placed another hilt with inlaid vertical wires from Wijk bij Duurstede, Holland (fig. 3, 11, pl. XXXIX, *a*),[3] and one from Kalumäki, Kalanti,[4] Finland, both of which have keeled guards, lenticular in section. Another hilt from Tiikinummi, Perniö, Finland, has a curved surface to the guards and an oval section.[5] Keeled guards with oval section are to be seen on the hilt from Maarhuizen, gem. Winsum, Groningen (fig. 5).[6] The ornamentation corresponds to that in Group 1 (*c*) above.

A sword from Esthonia is undecorated save for small hollows in the side of the pommel in a position likely for animal eyes, but would seem to be generally similar either to this or the previous group.[7] There is also a copy of this kind of hilt in walrus tusk and whalebone on a sword from Rosøy, Nordland, Norway,[8] where the pommel and upper guard are cut in one piece with a perforation through each side lobe.

(*c*) Although the sword from the River Escaut at Termonde (fig. 3, 12, pl. XXXIX, *b*) is similar to the preceding class, its inlaid plates put it in a different category,[9] which corresponds to Group 1 (*d*) above. The Westminster sword must be grouped with it, but differs in that the inlaid wires originally gave the effect of smooth plating, while the Termonde hilt was intended to be striped in appearance. As the Westminster guard is, on the whole, the same shape as the Termonde lower guard, but slightly larger, the missing pommel and upper guard would no doubt also be proportionately heavier. In both cases the plates are of carved bronze, and in the recesses there are traces of a black inlay which once made up a smooth surface (pl. XL). It is unfortunate that both of these swords should be river finds, as well as the Mannheim sword, which bears an identical leaf scroll to the London one. However, all indications point towards the last part of the eighth century for the Steinsvik and Mannheim swords. The Westminster guard is heavier than any of these, its line inlay is hammered to form a plate (a trait which becomes much more general in the ninth century),[1] and its ornamentation is slightly more complex. All of this suggests a date at about the turn of the century.

---

[1] Cf. the arrangement on the guards of the sword from Birka Grave 942, Arbman, Abb. 36.

[2] A later development is probable in the silver guard from Halland, Falkenberg, Arbman, Taf. 41, 5, cf. also Taf. 42, 1.

[3] Leiden Museum, F. 1936/11.1; W. C. Braat, *op. cit.* no. 5, Taf. 13, 5 and 14, 5.

[4] *Finska Fornm. Tidskrift*, xli, Taf. X, 2.

[5] *Ibid.* xli, Taf. XVI, 2.

[6] This appears to be the sword published by Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, iv, fig. 78, with the provenance Engelbert, gem. Norddijk, Groningen, inv. nr. 1896. 1. 2. The sword from Engelbert, however, is a later medieval type. The Maarhuizen sword, inv. nr. 1936. xii. 1 has recently been cleaned by J. Ypey, who has kindly sent me the above information and a drawing from which fig. 5 is taken.

[7] A. M. Tallgren, 'Ett viktigt estländskt fornfund fran slutet av mellersta järnaldern', *Finskt Museum*, XXX (1923).

[8] Tromsø Museum 2960.

[9] In the original publication of this sword *Annales de la Soc. d'Arch. de Bruxelles*, xxi (1907), a similar example was said to be at Munich, but Professor Werner tells me there are none of this type there. Another hilt referred to in this publication, from Harmignies Grave 242, is not similar, the pommel being a thin, disc segment divided, it is true, into three decorative fields by inlaid wires, but there the resemblance ends. The inlaid pattern is Merovingian in character, the pommel is set on a flat upper guard, and the lower guard is protected by an iron band, both being lenticular in plan.

Although these two groups fall into various sub-divisions, the final impression is that they are but members of a complete unit, for each bears some relation to at least one aspect of another. The datings which may be allocated are all confined to the limits of one century, and apart from the basic resemblance in form some characteristics of detail may be traced throughout that time: the S-shaped animals on the Suffelweihersheim hilt, for instance, may be reflected in the S-scrolls of the Termonde sword. The point is further stressed by the black inlay present on some of the more ornate specimens. Samples of this from the swords at Leiden, Termonde, Mannheim, and Westminster have been tested by Dr. Claringbull, and the results are similar in each case. All of them show iron carbonate, the Termonde and Westminster hilts containing calcium carbonate as well, and the Mannheim hilt iron carbonate and iron hydroxide. The black inlays known to have been used by jewellers of the period are limited to niello, with enamel as a possibility although it has not yet been detected in this colour, and, judging from the chemical composition of the sword inlays, whatever this material might have been in its original state, quite clearly it can have been neither of these. The craftsman was unable to use niello because of the basic metal on which he was working, for it does not seem possible to inlay niello on bronze.[2] There is no obvious explanation why a mixture of these two carbonates should be suitable for producing a black inlay. There are two reasons for assuming that this colour was in fact the one aimed at: the colour in each case at the present moment is black, and, moreover, it was the most common background colour of patterns in metal, and was usually carried out in niello. The fact that this queer composition was used in four cases may be a strong point in favour of emanations from a single workshop. Our knowledge of the inlays of this period is not based on widespread scientific investigation, however, and it may be that the use of this type of black inlay is more common than suspected.

A large number of the blades are pattern-welded, as might be expected of a class of swords showing a high standard of ornamentation on the hilts. Perhaps in some cases the hilt and blade were fixed together before export.

As to distribution (fig. 6), the census must be so full of gaps as to be a very faulty basis for drawing conclusions, for, apart from omissions in collection, during the decades before and after A.D. 800 people were still putting treasured possessions in the graves of their relations in some parts of Europe and Scandinavia, but not in others. River finds depend on the chances of modern dredging. In the case of the Mannheim type the distribution enabled Professor Jankuhn tentatively to suggest a Rhenish

---

[1] Nevertheless, there is a sword hilt of the second half of the seventh century plated in this way; J. Werner, *Das Alamannische Gräberfeld von Bülach* (1953), Taf. XXVI, 3, p. 52.

[2] A. A. Moss, 'Niello', *Conservation*, i, 2 (1953), 57–58.

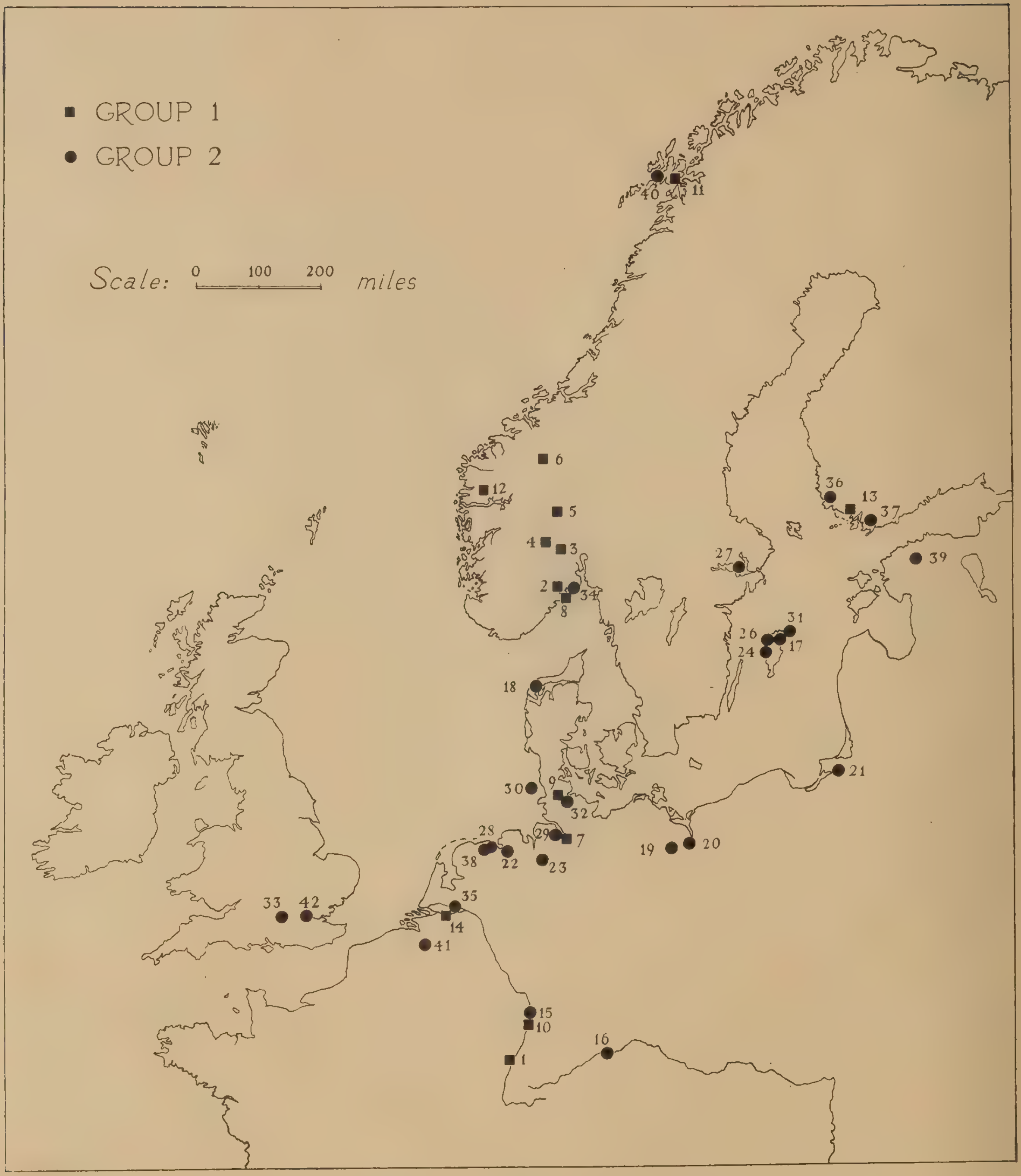

■ GROUP 1
● GROUP 2
Scale: 0 100 200 miles
40
11
6
12
5
4
3
2
34
8
27
36
13
37
39
31
26
17
24
18
21
30
9
32
28
29
7
38
22
23
19
20
33
42
35
14
41
15
10
16
1

FIG. 6. Distribution of Swords, Group I and Group 2

(For lists see opposite)

origin for the earlier division, and for the later one which tended to stretch into the Baltic a more northern source such as Hedeby was regarded as not impossible.

Bearing in mind the close relationship between Group 1 and Group 2, one nevertheless cannot fail to be struck by the two distinct lines of distribution they follow, Group 1 following an almost exclusive line south–north from the upper Rhine to Norway, and Group 2 a more widespread scatter, but with a west–east concentration from southern England to Finland. If this observation can bear any weight, then it may represent two sources and two main trading routes. For it is trade which is illustrated by these find-spots, Group 1 appearing in the Upper Rhine and near Dorestad, Hedeby, and Kaupang, and its hinterland. Group 2 also appears on the Rhine, and connects the trading ports of London, Dorestad, Hedeby, and Birka with calls at coastal ports *en route*, as well as Kaupang, Gotland, and the East Baltic. The spread of these swords is due to the peaceful movements of trade in the eighth century just before the main Viking expeditions for plunder.[1]

ANGLO-SAXON SWORDS

The hilt of the Westminster sword, then, may be placed with confidence in a series of swords in widespread use in north-western Europe during the eighth century. But it is necessary to see what relationship, if any, it bears to the swords in use at that time in this country. Here we come up against extreme scantiness of material, for grave finds are completely lacking, and it is just too early for Viking plunderers

---

[1] The distribution may possibly extend to Westphalia, for Dr. W. Winkelmann tells me that there may be one or two similar hilts at the cemetery of Lembeck.

DISTRIBUTION MAP

GROUP 1

1. Suffelweihersheim near Strasbourg.
2. Vestre Grini, Solhaug, Gjerpen, Telemark.
3. Østby, Sigdal, Buskerud.
4. Skjønne, Nore, Buskerud.
5. Nedre Bakkene, Ulnes, Nord Aurdal, Opland.
6. Nøstegård, Lesja, Opland.
7. Buxtehude near Hamburg.
8. Halle, Tanum, Brunlanes, Vestfold.
9. Hedeby, Schleswig.
10. Speyer, Rhine.
11. Steinsvik, Hol, Lødingen, Nordland.
12. Håheim, Jølster, Sogn og Fjordane.
13. Ristimäki, Kaarina, Finland.
14. Meuse near Aalburg, Holland.

GROUP 2 (Mannheim Type after Jankuhn, nos. 15–32)

15. Mannheim, Rhine.
16. Neuburg, Danube.
17. Stora Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland.
18. Sjørring, Jutland.
19. Hohensaathen, Prenzlau.
20. Oder near Gotzlow, Randow.
21. Pregel near Königsberg.
22. Ems near Leer.
23. Weser near Bremen.
24. Sanda, Gotland.
25. Unknown prov., Gotland.
26. Burge, Lummelunda, Gotland.
27. Birka, Grave 942.
28. Wierhuizen, gem. Appingedam.
29. Buxtehude (Hedendorf), near Hamburg.
30. Esenhughgruppe, Tumulus 36, Amrum.
31. Stora Ihre, Grave 194, Hellvi, Gotland.
32. Hedeby, Schleswig.
33. Reading, Berks.
34. Rimstad, Hedrum, Jarlsberg og Larvik.
35. Wijk bij Duurstede, Holland.
36. Kalumäki, Kalanti, Finland.
37. Tiikinummi, Perniö, Finland.
38. Maarhuizen, gem. Winsum, Groningen, Holland.
39. Kunlepa, Paluby, Juuru, Ingliste, Esthonia.
40. Risøy, Hadsel, Nordland.
41. Termonde, River Escaut, Belgium.
42. Westminster, London.

to have deposited them in graves after they had returned home laden with booty.[1] Yet there are some significant parallels, and the first of these is the hilt found in Fetter Lane, London (pls. XLI, XLII)[2]. All that remains is part of the silver-sheet ornamental covering to the pommel, upper guard, and upper half of the grip. There must have been a lower guard also, similar but slightly larger, and another set of panels to correspond to the upper grip would make the total length of space for the hand 9·2 cm., which is a normal-sized grip for a one-handed sword. The drawing which attempts such a reconstruction in the *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, fig. 112, is a likely version, with the exception that the lower guard would have been longer and with a pair of dome-headed rivets like that on the upper guard.

The pommel seems to have been completely gilded but is in many places worn down to the silver base. A central domed knob is flanked by two rows of three dome-headed rivets in cylindrical collars diminishing in size towards the ends, the end rivets being presumably functional to fasten the pommel to the upper guards, and the inner ones being dummies.[3] Apart from the filigree wires separating these rivet segments, all decoration is concentrated on the two sides of the central knob. One side is exclusively occupied by a series of wavy curls like locks of hair, a motif which reappears on the other side, but at the bottom there are also a pair of birds' heads with curling beaks and with eyes drawn out to a point tailing off into a tendril. At the top is another pair of birds' heads with beaks curling upwards, and in the centre, although worn, it seems possible to distinguish a top view of an animal head with snout and curling ears like those common to strap-end terminals.[4]

The upper and under side of the guard are covered by a silver sheet: round the outer edge and bent in to overlap these sheets is a gilt fluted band, zones along the edges being raised with diagonal striping. Girding the central line of this is a silver rib. A pair of dome-headed rivets with filigree collars project on the under surface of the guard. The central convex band round the grip is raised in a gilt zigzag design with traces of black inlay in the recesses.

On each side of the grip covering is a different design carried out in a flat surface finish, where the chiselled-out recesses are filled with inlays of black. A vigorous, gaping biped flings its limbs wide, and lashes its tail round in a sweeping circle: its body is formed by a square with incurved sides and its joints are spiral; shark-like fins jut from its tail.[5] In direct contrast to the dynamic power of the lines of this dramatic animal is the dainty leaf-bearing stem which sprouts like an ear from behind the beast's eye and meanders gently, wandering off into branches and a variety of leaves, until the tender shoot at the end lies within the monster's bite. The contrast within the design is further accentuated by the smooth silver sheen of the animal itself with wire-like niello inlay,[1] and the much more broken gilt surface of the leaves set in larger spaces of blacker material.

---

[1] References to swords are rare in literature at this early date, but it must have been one with sumptuous ornament that the Kentish reeve Abba mentioned in his will about A.D. 835, for he rated its value very high: F. E. Harmer, *English Historical Documents* (1914), p. 4.

[2] *P.S.A.* xxiii (1910), 302–3, fig. 2; *V.C.H. London*, i, 154; *B.M. Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (1923), p. 93, fig. 112; J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament* (1924), p. 144, fig. 119; R. A. Smith, 'Examples of Anglian Art', *Arch.* lxxiv (1923–4), 248–9, fig. 23; T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), p. 189, pl. LXXIX.

[3] The hilt is reconstructed on a wooden core, so that the inside is not visible.

[4] e.g. Talnotrie, Brøndsted, 1924, fig. 108.

[5] There is no bird's head immediately behind the animal's head as on the drawing in *B.M. Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, fig. 108; this is merely the continuation of the tail after it has passed under the beast's head.

A similar scheme of antithesis is found on the other side, where again there is motion, this time more spiraliform, where four bird-headed snakes with segmented bodies swirl round a central point, and where again a contrasting background is formed by gilt leafy tendrils in a black setting.

A number of Celtic mannerisms of the decoration on the Fetter Lane hilt are at once apparent: the vigorously whirling composition, the animal with spiral shoulder and rolled-back jaws, the birds' heads and curly locks on the pommel. These may, in fact, be seen in the Book of Kells and other Irish manuscripts; curly manes are common,[2] birds become familiar after the Lindisfarne Gospels, and animals with wide-flung rolled-back jaws occur not only in Irish manuscripts, but in Irish metalwork also.[3] Whorls of birds' heads, either attached to bodies or merely on stalks, are present in the Book of Kells on folios 8^r and 16^v, for example, and phyllomorphic ornament occurs throughout in unexpected variety,[4] although in no very similar form. All these details, however, were used by illuminators of contemporary Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts, so that the Echternach lion, for instance,[5] wears a fine coat of curls, bird-headed serpents are contained in whorls in the Rome Gospels,[6] and on the David page (fol. 30^v) of Cotton Vespasian A1 there is a whorl of two heads, one an animal and the other an eared bird.[7] On the Xro page of the Stockholm Codex Aureus we may see its earliest beginnings in painted form, although it was no doubt copied in the first instance from the ornithomorphic versions of enamelled hanging-bowl escutcheons.[8]

The serpent-tailed biped set in a background of interlace is no stranger to eighth-century Anglo-Saxon art, for it makes an appearance on the Brunswick Casket,[9] and some of the animals with spiral shoulders and arms outstretched in the St. Petersburg Gospels,[10] although limpid by comparison, have a certain resemblance. The head of the animal is more clearly recognizable in a silver ring from the Thames at Chelsea,[11] where the secondary inner contour of dotting on the animal is a further comparable detail. The extraordinarily wide and energetic gape of the biped to swallow its own tail is reflected in metalwork by one of the pairs of dogs on the Strickland brooch (assigned to the first half of the ninth century),[12] and also on the earlier Hillesøy disc.[13] The Fetter Lane biped stretches in a background of foliage instead of the interlace favoured by most of these other creatures, and no close connexion with the vine-scroll of northern England can be seen in its loose irregularity. Especially interesting is this foliage ornament, for it occurs on the Tassilo chalice which is dated by its inscription to about A.D. 777 and is believed to have been made in south Germany under strong influence of Hiberno-Saxon art.[1] This will be referred to again in connexion with the Westminster sword.

---

[1] This niello is now mostly silver in appearance.

[2] E. H. Alton, P. Meyer, G. O. Simms, *The Book of Kells* (1950–1), *passim*, and F. Henry, *Early Christian Irish Art* (1954), pls. 47 and 56.

[3] Few animals achieve the wide-open gape as here, but compare the animal-headed terminal, fol. 76*a*, Dublin (Trin. Coll.) 50, Ricemarchus Psalter, Zimmermann, 1916, iii, Taf. 214*b*; F. Henry, *op. cit.* pls. 34 and 35.

[4] Compare, for instance, the formal scrolls primly confined to panels and the lush, ebullient growth in the arcade on the page of the arrest of Christ, F. Henry, *op. cit.* pl. 55.

[5] Kendrick, 1938, pl. LV, fol. 75*b*; Zimmermann, Taf. 256*a*. There is no connexion with acanthus, as suggested by R. Smith, *P.S.A.* xxiii, 303.

[6] Zimmermann, Taf. 315*b*, terminals of the X, Taf. 316*a*.

[7] Zimmermann, iii, 286, fol. 30*b*; Kendrick, 1938, lxv, 2. Single animal-headed scrolls occur elsewhere, e.g. fol. 24^v.

[8] Double-headed whorls in the space by the X in the Codex Aureus, fol. 11*a*, Zimmermann, Taf. 284, and on fol. 5*b* in the third column of the canon tables, Zimmermann, Taf. 286*b*: hanging-bowl escutcheons—*The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, pl. 10*a* and *c*.

[9] Brøndsted, 1924, fig. 115.

[10] Zimmermann, 1916, iii, 321–3.

[11] As noticed by R. Smith, *Arch.* lxxiv, 247, fig. 20.

[12] Bruce-Mitford, 1956, p. 193, pl. XXVI, A, top left.

[13] *Ibid.* pl. XXXI, B.

In order to pursue comparisons one step farther, one may evoke not an example of the jeweller's art, but a close copy by an illuminator. The reference is to the folios of canon tables in the British Museum MS. Royal I E VI,[2] which, like some pages of many another manuscript of this period, give the impression of being faithfully modelled on actual metalwork. The gold borders announce the framing metal, and the step-pattern and T-shaped cells of vermilion, yellow, and light green recall enamel-work. Circular and square raised studs punctuate the columns, and the dotted animals immediately below the arches on fol. 4*a* imitate the technique of lightly punched patterns on metal.[3] But important to the present case are the panels of designs, either pure interlace or animal scrolls, in white or less often in yellow or other colours, on a black background. These must surely be copied directly from metal-work where the pattern in reserved silver is accentuated by a niello background.

At first sight there is not a great deal in common between these gay little creatures and the energetic, forceful Fetter Lane animal, but much of the difference may be put down to the size and shape of the accommodating field. The basic elements of a biped with open jaws and a long tail in a background of foliage are present, although in the manuscript the tail is serpentine instead of ringed, and the leaves alternate with sprouting animal heads. The leaf-shapes themselves are similar, and there are occasional examples of a double leaf split off into opposite directions in the same way as on the Fetter Lane grip.[4] A curl at the corner of the animal's eye is clearly visible at the top of fol. 4^{r} and a slight indication of this on some of the smaller animals is a trace only. These foliate scrolls on a black background occur also in British Museum MS. Tiberius C. II, where on fol. 126^{r} a creature with a rolled lower jaw bites with greater zest.

Other characteristics of the hilt point to roots in the Anglo-Saxon rather than the Celtic part of the British Isles, the main one being the form itself. It has no connexion with the type of the bronze gilt pommel in Norwich museum with which it was compared by Reginald Smith.[5] This is probably a Carolingian sword pommel, classified as Type O by Petersen, who thought the type belonged in general to the first half of the tenth century, and, like Type K from which it no doubt evolved, was of non-Scandinavian origin.

There seem to be no predecessors for the decorated sword pommels of the Viking age in Ireland,[6] whereas swords with silver or bronze decorated hilts are well attested as the weapon of the pagan Anglo-Saxon leader. The hilts of these, it will be remembered, usually consisted of a small 'cocked hat' pommel with guards of wood, sometimes strengthened by a plate of bronze on each side.[1] In the seventh century these metal plates became wider, and sometimes the central layer is also of metal.[2] The Fetter Lane guard is a later evolution of this, still retaining the rivets at the end which are essential to clinch the three layers. Occasionally the inner part of the guard is of iron inlaid in stripes of silver or bronze wires,[3] and it may well be that the striped surface on the outer part of the guards of the Fetter Lane sword, as well as the central band on the grip, is in imitation of this technique, in the same way that the less expensive Swedish helmet crests imitate in bronze the type of silver wire zigzag inlay on the iron crest of the Sutton Hoo helmet.[4]

---

[1] Haseloff, 1951.

[2] Zimmermann, 1916, Taf. 290, 291.

[3] e.g. St. Ninian's treasure, *Illustrated London News*, ccxxxiii, no. 6233, figs. 7 and 8; *Antiquity*, xxxiii, pls. xxv–xxix. A. C. O'Dell, *St. Ninian's Treasure* (1960), pp. 17 and 21.

[4] Zimmermann, 1916, Taf. 291*a* central column, also fol. 6^{r}.

[5] *P.S.A.* xxiii, 303, fig. 1.

[6] H. Hencken, 'Lagore Crannog', *Proc. Roy. Ir. Acad.* liii, Section C, no. 1, pp. 88–94.

The shape of the pommel bears only a superficial resemblance to later swords with segmented knobs such as Types K and O. In these the segments are usually more or less equal in size although they tend to become higher towards the centre, and if ornamentation is present it is distributed evenly to each segment. In this case, however, all the ornament is concentrated on the central arched segment only, and the side sections are simply rivets, or imitations of rivets with cylindrical collars. Collared rivets were, of course, normal on sixth-century pommels. At some distance, the shape might have developed from the animal-headed pommel with a separate central knob.[5] In any case, it may perhaps be regarded as a form current in England in the eighth century, a point which will be returned to later.

In view, then, of the small size and light weight of its pommel as opposed to the heavier Viking ones, and the shape of its guards so obviously developed from those of the pagan period, the Fetter Lane sword must belong to the eighth century, and moreover, its decoration accords well with that of manuscripts produced in the south of England at that period, and with a finger ring found at Chelsea. Thus far seems certain, but a glimpse of its metalwork successors during the following century makes its position even more secure. In the period of the Trewhiddle hoard (deposited *c.* A.D. 875) a favourite technique of the Anglo-Saxon craftsman was that of carving a design in silver and filling the crevices with niello to make a flat surface of contrasting black and silver. This is seen particularly in the Trewhiddle hoard itself, the Talnotrie strap-end, the Fuller and Beeston Tor disc brooches. The Fetter Lane sword fits in well as a predecessor in this technique. Artistically, it owes more to the old pagan enthusiasm and vivacity in the treatment of animal design, and nothing as yet to the acanthus vegetation which comes in from Carolingian sources. The animals are large-scale and the leaf-scrolls ubiquitous and unrestrained: neither is yet confined to geometrical fields and cartouches. Moreover, various details are to be repeated on the later objects: the foliate scroll, with the trick of two leaves branching in different directions on one of the Beeston Tor brooches[6] and on the ring from Bologna;[7] the animal heads on the Strickland and Hillesøy brooches. The curls of the pommel also

---

[1] Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iii, pl. XXVI, 3, 5.

[2] H. Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *Le Nécropole de Vendel* (1927), pl. II, I and pl. XXXIV, 4.

[3] Behmer, 1939, pl. XLVI*a*, pl. LX, 7*b*.

[4] *Antiquity*, xxi, pls. II, III, and IV; H. Stolpe and T. J. Arne, *op. cit.* pls. V, I, and XXXVI, 4.

[5] B. Hougen, *Snartemo Funnene* (1935), pl. VII, 2.

[6] Bruce-Mitford, 1956, pl. XXVII, A.

[7] *Ibid.* pl. XXII, D.

adorn the animal terminal of the Alfred Jewel.[1] The amorphous dotted panels of reserved silver surrounded by niello on the Fetter Lane snakes appear as gold inlay on the inner part of the Strickland brooch, and this ancestry clarifies their meaning on the latter, where they must be interpreted, not as 'petals',[2] but as segments of the bodies belonging to the four animal heads radiating from the centre.

The craftsman deliberately used niello inlay on the Fetter Lane hilt for the wiry lines decorating the bodies of the silver animals, but switched to a completely different type of black inlay for the background to the gold leaves. Both of these substances have been investigated by Dr. Claringbull. The niello now consists of stromeyerite with silver (AgCuS), and this is interesting as no stromeyerite has been recorded earlier than the eleventh century,[3] the bell shrine of St. Cuillean[4] being the earliest examined so far. In fact, the stromeyerite in the niello of the Fetter Lane hilt, containing, as it does, some 40 per cent. of cuprous sulphide, could have been applied by fusion more readily than the niello found in the knop of the Kells Crosier (early eleventh century), in which the proportion of cuprous sulphide is only 25 per cent.[5] This means that the Fetter Lane hilt holds the first example traced so far of a niello which could have been applied by fusion, as opposed to the earlier silver sulphide types which had perforce to be applied by rubbing in.

The black inlay next to the leaves proves to consist of iron carbonate and calcium carbonate like the inlay on the Westminster, Termonde, and Mannheim swords. The use of two entirely different materials to produce a black colour in the same piece of metalwork might suggest a perfectionist craftsman delicately attuned to nuances of tone and texture, and so, perhaps, he was. But a more true-to-life explanation may be that he was using the foliage motifs of one school and instinctively carrying out the work in its normal materials, while borrowing the animal motifs of another school and the techniques which went with them. In fact, this hilt may constitute not only artistic but also technical witness of the merging of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon talents on English soil. The traditional view that the Fetter Lane hilt was made in the second half of the eighth century is thereby reinforced, and it is further suggested that its place of origin was not far from its find-spot.

In this connexion one of the silver pieces found in the hoard in St. Ninian's Church in the Shetlands may be noticed.[6] No other pommel exactly like this is known, but the shape is akin to Petersen's Special Type 2, and the decoration is an all-over one of interlaced animals. It perhaps makes more understandable the bronze pommel found in Ireland[7] which is of similar shape although lower and larger, and which is decorated with a spread-eagled animal with limbs running off into interlace. The spread-eagled animal is noticed as an escutcheon on the hanging-bowl in the St. Ninian's hoard, and has been compared to an animal on the Steeple-Bumpstead boss.[8] Such a vertical viewpoint is also taken of some Anglo-Saxon animals of the same period, as may be seen from the views from above and below of the creatures in the spaces of the V and M on the 'Christi autem' page of the Codex Aureus in Stockholm,[1] and from the quite different, but equally delightful, shaggy wolf on one of the Witham pins. Creatures like these may already be seen on the casket in Brunswick Museum,[2] and the animals peeping over the top of the Enger reliquary[3] are possible models for their more formalized relations on the St. Ninian hanging-bowl and for other Celtic beasts.[4] The more emaciated form of such an animal in interlace seems to be a Scandinavian creation, as may be seen from a Gotland brooch.[5]

---

[1] R. H. Hodgkin, *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1952), pl. IV.

[2] Bruce-Mitford, 1956, p. 192.

[3] M. MacDermott, 'The Kells Crosier', *Arch.* xcvi 1955), 100.

[4] A. A. Moss, *op. cit.* p. 61.

[5] M. MacDermott, *op. cit.*, 100.

[6] 'The St, Ninian's Isle Silver Hoard', *Antiquity*, xxxiii (1959), 241–68, pl. XXXII, *h*, fig. 6; *Illustrated London News*, ccxxxiii, no. 6220, fig. 2; A. C. O'Dell, *op. cit.* pp. 8, 9.

[7] H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, iii, fig. 62, p. 92.

[8] *Antiquity*, xxxiii, figs. 4 and 11, p. 263.

The Dublin pommel is of Viking size and technique (8 cm. long and in the bronze double-sheeting of the tortoise brooches) but modelled on a Hiberno-Saxon shape and style of decoration. The St. Ninian pommel, however, belongs to the time just before the implanting of Viking tastes in the area, and in the composition of its design it shows particular relevance to the Fetter Lane type of pommel, for the central and higher portion is delineated by an arch-shaped frame. In size it is only 5 mm. smaller than the Fetter Lane pommel.

There is one other English pommel which bears comparison as to shape with the Fetter Lane hilt, and that is the remarkable piece found at Windsor,[6] and usually described as a 'dagger' pommel (pl. XLIII, *a*, *b*). There appear to be no grounds for this designation: there is no record of the find circumstances. Presumably its similarity to a sword pommel was recognized, but it was thought to be too small. This is not necessarily so, for although its total length now is less than the Fetter Lane pommel (4·3 cm. as opposed to 5·9 cm.) the central section is in fact larger. In both the middle segment is in the shape of an arch, and on this is concentrated all the decoration, the side pieces being bare of ornament, and indeed too small to carry much.

The nearest approach to a dagger was the *seax*, a long, single-edged knife, and of two decorated seax pommels of the late pagan period, one from Sibertswold[7] is a completely different shape. The silver one found with a hanging-bowl and spear near Winchester[8] follows the same lines, however, for the centre knob rises in an arch and the wings show animal-head tendencies. The guard is 3·3 cm. wide and the pommel 3 cm., so indicating that a seax pommel was likely to be smaller than the Windsor pommel.

The Windsor pommel is heavy and of solid metal, apparently silver throughout, although there is considerable difference of colour and texture in its surface. The dome and part of its under surface are shining and silver, whereas the wings, part of the under surface, and inside the tang slot are green and corroded. Presumably the latter are the unexposed surfaces, and if so, we must assume that the wings originally had a covering of gold sheet. On the sides of the knob is a scratched design of two loops intertwined in the same way as the ribbon animals on the front, but the curling ends are left free with the two side loops incomplete, so that the design may be confined to a narrower space.

---

[1] Brøndsted, 1924, fig. 92.

[2] *Ibid.* fig. 115.

[3] J. E. Forssander, 'Irland-Oseberg', *K. Human. Vetenskapssamfs: i Lund Årsberättelse* (1942–3), p. 177, Abb. 21, 22.

[4] Common in Irish plastic art, *ibid.* Abb. 19, 20.

[5] Arbman, 1937, Abb. 21.

[6] *V.C.H. Berks.* i, 243–4, plate opposite p. 240, fig. 2; Brøndsted, 1924, 143; Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* iii, 311, pl. LVI.

[7] B. Faussett, *Inventorium Sepulchrale* (1856), p. 132.

[8] W. J. Andrew and R. A. Smith, 'The Winchester Anglo-Saxon Bowl', *Ant. Journ.* xi, 1, fig. 2.

Each face of the central dome is recessed, but only one retains its gold-plate background to an interlaced pattern of filigree wires. A pair of ribbon animals with bulging eyes and pointed ears form the main theme of a four-looped plait by biting each other's tail. Following more or less parallel to the lines of these bodies, finer, twisted filigree wires are threaded in and out of the animals and each other, and here and there, at irregular points, the wires end in a cluster of minute granules. This is an unusual technique. The usual method of filigree work on a base as practised in the previous century in England, for example, was to solder each wire to the background, which might be flat or repoussé, but never to pass the strands over or under each other, even in an interlace.[1] The exceptional points of this filigree, apart from its fineness and perfect execution, are its loose irregularity and free-standing quality. The craftsman must first of all have made the pattern of intertwined wires in its free state and then soldered it complete to the background. Loose ends were made secure by the application of the groups of globules.

In view of the technique in which this jewel has been executed, it will be necessary to touch upon the complicated problem of filigree work at this time. Goldsmiths in Scandinavia reached a very high stage in this medium in the sixth century in the gold collars and scabbard mounts, but then the art declined until revived in Viking times, when it was carried out mainly in silver. In the meantime, most of the finest works of the seventh century were produced in Kent, with evidence on the shoulder clasps at Sutton Hoo that there were proficient craftsmen elsewhere in England, but with the later seventh and the eighth centuries the emphasis passed to Ireland in the Ardagh chalice and its circle of other splendid pieces. On the continent there appears to be no comparable work of merit which is datable between the seventh and mid-ninth centuries. The reintroduction of the technique to Scandinavia is thought by Arbman to have been via Carolingian media, while others look to the British Isles. Admirable surveys of the subject have recently been made by Holmqvist,[2] and the contribution attempted here will be to stress the existence of English work which could have influenced the Viking craft, and which is of a character quite distinct from the Irish or Scottish type.

Brøndsted compared this leafless grape vine with Hexham designs, and therefore suspected it to be early in date. Nearer than large-scale sculpture in stone, however, there is a gold finger-ring in the Ashmolean Museum with a disc bezel adorned in the same adventurous metal technique (fig. 7, pl. XLIII, *c*, *d*).[3] Here again, the emphasis of the pattern is provided by a series of snake-like animals, now arranged in four quadrants, in this case also of plain round wire, but flattened to a head in profile at each end. Each head bites a cluster of three granules which grow from twisted filigree wires intertwined with their bodies, the resultant mesh being even more free-standing than on the Windsor pommel.[4] Although the exact provenance of this ring is not known, it was bought in England and has no characteristics foreign to Anglo-Saxon jewellery. Profile views of snake-like creatures appear in filigree on the Sutton Hoo shoulder-clasps in the spaces between the boars at the end.[1] The large granules at the junction of loop and bezel appear on other rings,[2] and the shape of the cross forming the gold frame in the centre, which probably once enclosed a cabochon jewel, is a usual curvilinear type. The cabochon is surrounded by the familiar collar of circumference-grooved beaded wire, and the disc base is double and hollow, the edges connected by a fret of wire looped in the same pattern as on the bezel of the gold ring from Coggeshall, Essex,[3] although in the present case the pattern is masked by a single line of twisted wire running along the centre of the loops.

---

[1] Except for simple tight twists and pseudo-plaits.

[2] W. Holmqvist, *Germanic Art* (1955), pp. 66–72, and 'The Syllöda silver pin—an English element in the art of the Viking Age', *Suomen Museo* (1959), 34–63.

[3] No. 1935. 3, of unknown provenance; given by our President, Dr. Joan Evans, who bought it from a London jeweller where it had arrived in a batch of gold for melting down.

[4] It is not surprising that few examples of this type of wire work have survived, for it is even more vulnerable to wear and tear than filigree which is firmly anchored to a base for its complete length.

This openwork, looped filigree occurs in the same way as edging to steep jewel settings at a later period, e.g. the Towneley brooch,[4] the decoration of which includes ribbon filigree in scrolls. A silver fragment in Grave 501 at Birka must be earlier than these, and was considered by Arbman to be an import.[5] It occurs, too, on the basket-shaped ear-rings brought from south Russia to Gotland, where they figure in treasure-finds of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[6]

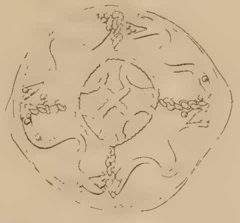


FIG. 7. Animal design on the gold ring, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford ($\frac{1}{1}$).

Another example of a gold ring with similar zoomorphic ornament of limbless animals was found at Dorchester, Dorset.[7] Clearly a developed form of the pagan wire ring with a bezel of a double twisted knot,[8] the two ends of the wire swell out into cat-like heads with small ears and blue glass eyes in a background mesh of thinner strands. This is a free and simple version of the animals in interlace on the Windsor pommel and the Ashmolean ring.

Among the pieces of the Hon treasure in Norway there are some gold pendants divided into three fields, each containing filigree snakes with bulging eyes which interlace in an untidy trelliswork similar to that on the Windsor pommel,[9] but the technique follows the usual practice where a strand stops short when it approaches a crossing strand, and restarts on the other side. The serpent head is seen from the top, like some on the Sutton Hoo shoulder-clasps.[10] The deposition of this hoard is dated by coins to after the middle of the ninth century,[11] and one of the trinkets, a gold ring in Trewhiddle style, is quite clearly a Viking trophy from England.[12] Some of the other pieces may also come from the same country, one of the most eligible candidates being the silver, domed disc inlaid with garnets in a step pattern, for not only is the cloisonné work in pagan Anglo-Saxon tradition, but the jewel also has a twisted filigree border, and the three triangular cells at the edge of the quadrants near the rim are covered with a silver sheet. At the time of the Sutton Hoo burial where this type of cell-work is abundant, further evidence only exists for it on single pieces in Kent,[1] Yorkshire,[2] Belgium,[3] and Sweden, and all these may well stem from the same source. In the case of the small, domed filigree discs reused as pendants, therefore, an English origin must be considered, and a reminder that their size is comparable to the bosses on trefoil and quatrefoil brooches suggests a use for which they might have been made.[4] Another possibility is a brooch composed of a number of such elements, like the one from Hasselt, Belgium.[5]

---

[1] British Museum, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, pl. 23, left-hand clasp, particularly the lower edge.

[2] C. C. Oman, 'Anglo-Saxon Finger-rings', *Apollo*, xiv (1931), 104–8, figs. C, 26, A, 9, and B, 20.

[3] *Ibid.* fig. A, 8; *V.C.H. Essex*, i, pl. opp. p. 322, fig. 15.

[4] *P.S.A.* xx, 65; *British Museum Anglo-Saxon Guide*, pl. x.

[5] Arbman, 1937, Taf. 65, 2.

[6] M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands*, i (1958), 144–5, ii (1947), Abb. 264, 2, etc.

[7] C. C. Oman, *op. cit.* fig. B, 4; *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, pl. XVII, p. 18; G. Haseloff, 'Zum Ursprung des nordischen Greiftierstils', *Festschrift für Gustav Schwantes* (1951), Abb. 3.

[8] *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, pl. XVII, p. 8.

[9] Arbman, 1937, Taf. 59, 1, Taf. 60, 3–6.

[10] Haseloff, 1951, Abb. 8, lower row.

[11] H. Holst, 'Nye bidrag til belysningar Honfunnets mynter', *Nordisk Numismatisk Årskrift* (1951).

[12] Brøndsted, 1924, fig. 125, p. 150.

The pattern on another Hon filigree pendant (pl. XLIV, *b*) has been compared with the design of incurved square with animal-headed corners on the Strickland brooch,[6] and the pendant therefore claimed as English. An opposing view, that the Hon pendant is Scandinavian work with English connexions, has also been stated.[7] At first the Hon pendant does not seem particularly close to the Strickland brooch design, for the animal heads at the corners of the incurved square are facing inwards instead of outwards, and no intervening animals springing from the border are visible. However, following the line of the trunk of the 'tree of life' motif, a triple band of wires (one beaded each side of a plain band) rear themselves from the surface of the brooch over the filigree of the square to meet the elevated cabochon jewel in the centre, and although each terminal is damaged, and the detail seems to have been overlooked until now, there is enough left to show that they were serpent heads like those on the Sutton Hoo shoulder-clasps already referred to, and on the border of the Crundale buckle.[8] The pattern therefore falls into line with others in this style, such as the brooch from Nedrebö in Norway.[9] The elevation of the necks of the snakes to cross other wires is rare, and should be considered in combination with other details towards the outer edge. The border consists of the edge of the disc base turned up, with three rows of filigree, one vertical band and two beaded, piled up against it. The loop-like ears of the animal run right up and over this border so that they lie at a considerable angle and above the level of the base plate. This is a technique so near to that of the Windsor pommel and the English gold ring that the probability of it being an Anglo-Saxon product is weightily increased. With three pieces certainly Anglo-Saxon, whether the other English-looking objects in the Hon treasure are actually imports or merely influenced by works from this country, they provide further evidence by implication for the existence of an accomplished filigree school in late eighth- or early ninth-century England.

In the sphere of manuscript art, the serpent with ears and bulging eyes was seized upon with great delight by the illuminators of the Book of Kells, who frequently made the already remarkable eyes more ludicrous by a decided cross-cast.[1] At the right-hand lower corner of fol. 188^{r} there is a pattern of four such snakes interlaced with thinner strands and a few clover leaves, the total effect being very much like the pattern on the Windsor pommel.[2] Many leafless trails ending in berry clusters are also in evidence (e.g. fol. 264^{v}). The eared serpent again makes an appearance in a snake-and-staff motif on a cross-slab at Logierait, Perthshire, and in the grip of a beast at Forteviot in the same county.[3]

---

[1] R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.* xxv, pt. I (1949), 51–53.

[2] E. T. Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*, pl. XXVII, 65.

[3] H. Arbman, 'Verroterie cloisonnée et Filigrane', *K. Human. Vetenskapssamfs: i Lund Årsberättelse*, iii (1949–50), fig. 17.

[4] W. Holmqvist, *op. cit.* (1959), p. 48. Both the Hon pendants with snakes and the Kirkoswald centre boss are in fact 2 cm. in diameter.

[5] Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, *L'Art Merovingien* (1954), pl. 46, 4.

[6] Bruce-Mitford, 1956, pl. XXVI, A, and pl. XXVII, D.

[7] W. Holmqvist, *op. cit.* (1959), p. 54, note 51.

[8] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* iii, pl. LXXIII, 1; *Medieval Archaeology*, ii (1958), pl. VIII, D.

[9] J. Petersen, *Vikingetidens Smykker* (1928), fig. 121; cf. P. Paulsen, 'Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee', *Mannus*, xxvi (1934), Abb. 10, *a*; and *Univ. Oldsaksamlings Skrifter*, B, ii (1929), p. 215.

But the distinctive, long-eared, pop-eyed head of the Windsor animal has a closer parallel (as pointed out by Baldwin Brown) in a sceatta design. It seems that it is the sceatta animal that takes its inspiration from the jeweller's craft and not the other way about, for the body of the coiled animal is plain, but the body of the accompanying wolf is beaded after the fashion of filigree. This type of sceatta may reasonably be assigned to the middle of the eighth century or slightly later,[4] and is related to Kentish types.

From a front view, the edge of the inlaid plate on the Windsor pommel seems to be defined by a boundary of beaded wire, but this is, in fact, a flat band about 1 mm. wide, scalloped at each edge and soldered vertically to the base-plate (pl. XLIII, *b*). This too is a technique normally absent from pagan jewellery, but one which does occur on later works in the British Isles, and in particularly notable splendour and complexity on the Ardagh chalice, where more than one thread is soldered on top of the knife-edge of the vertical ribbon.[5] An attempt to achieve an impressive three-dimensional effect had already been made by earlier Anglo-Saxons who perched filigree wires on the crests of a repoussé pattern, e.g. the Taplow buckles and clasps,[6] and this gave rise, on at least one occasion, to a vertical border surmounted by beaded wire on a buckle from Faversham.[7] The soldering of gold bands vertically on a base-plate was an everyday occupation for an Anglo-Saxon jeweller, who, however, went on to complete the handiwork by setting garnets and other stones in the spaces between. It is perhaps to these craftsmen that the decorative value of these frames first occurred, for so-called 'unfinished' brooches have been found in pagan burials, that is to say, the pattern of vertical bands was completed, but the inlaying of garnets was not even begun.[8] The Faversham composite brooch[9] does show traces of a chalky securing base in the cells, but a pendant from Wye Down in the British Museum[10] could perhaps have been worn without insets. Gold bracteates from Gotland are decorated in just this way, with vertical bands set out in step-patterns,[11] and it is particularly interesting to note Holmqvist's suggestion that the Gotland discs were, in fact, influenced from this quarter, in support of which he quotes a jewel from Eketorp on which filled cloisons and empty step cells both occur together.[12]

---

[1] E. H. Alton, P. Meyer, and G. O. Simms, *The Book of Kells*, iii (1950–1), e.g. fols. 26^{r} and 188^{v}, head terminal to frame near left lower corner.

[2] Cf. also various roundels near the top of fol. 29^{r}, etc.

[3] J. Romilly Allen, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, iii, 292, fig. 308B, and 324, fig. 335C.

[4] The opinion on the date of this coin was kindly given by Mr. S. E. Rigold.

[5] M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldsmiedekunst* (1918), s. 117. Abb. 213.

[6] R. Jessup, *Anglo-Saxon Jewellery* (1950), pl. XXXVIII (1).

[7] *Ibid.* pl. XXXVIII, *c*.

[8] *Ibid.* pp. 117–18, pl. XXVI, 2.

[9] *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.* XXV, 1 (1949), pl. XIV, *a*.

[10] *P.S.A.* xiv, 314.

[11] Arbman, 1937, pls. 56, 57, 58.

[12] W. Holmqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 61, fig. 28.

One of the earliest uses in the British Isles of this technique in an undoubted filigree pattern is to be found in the zoomorphic panels on the front of the Hunterston brooch,[1] a work which owes much to the Anglo-Saxon as well as the Celtic world. The close connexions with pagan Saxon jewellery may be realized by comparing the filigree snakes in regular interlace with the snakes on the borners of the Crundale buckle, the pseudo-plait filigree for filling in spaces on the beaks of the Germanic birds' heads with the similarly filled-in spaces on the Sutton Hoo shoulder-clasps, and its further use as a rectangular border with the borders on Kentish buckles such as the Faversham one already mentioned. In fact, it is a very short step from the animals on the Faversham buckle, for this jeweller had abandoned the usual arrangement of two rows of beaded wire beside a central thicker one; instead, by placing a coarsely beaded border on each side of a row of annulets of thinner granulation, and by causing the repoussé background to fall away more steeply, he has achieved a much more clear-cut body outline and improved the definition of the design.[2] The advantages of this were realized by the maker of the Hunterston brooch who drew a similar sharp outline, but in a different way, by using either vertical ribbons or two rows of beaded wire one on top of the other, and he further varied the richness of display by juxtaposing panels of these creatures with panels in the older tradition.

Apart from appearing on continental objects connected with the church of the early medieval period, such as the crosses of Oviedo,[3] this ribbon filigree is known on objects from Scandinavia[4] and occurs on one of the brooches from Hon usually considered to be of Frankish origin, mainly by reason of the gold-foil petals in the centre.[5] These are surrounded by scrolls in ribbon filigree surmounted by beaded wire, in the manner of the work on the Ardagh chalice. A similar disc, in gilt silver, and mounted on a silver plate, was found in Grave 628 at Birka,[6] but the vertical ribbons on this had a scalloped edge somewhat like that on the Windsor pommel. This latter technique in a scroll design is repeated on two gold roundels (pl. XLV, *a*) found in a tumulus, Lilla Howe in Yorkshire, in company with four Anglo-Saxon strap-ends, and other jewellery now lost.[7] If one compares the Hon pendant with these, the size of the discs and the scale of the work are of the same order, as well as the general layout of a running scroll in a zone surrounding a flower-like centre. The detail of clasping bands does not occur on the Yorkshire discs, but single granules placed at focal points, and a spray of two scrolls curving away from a dividing loop, giving a fleur-de-lis effect, are to be found on both. These discs could, of course, be imports, but their associated finds are undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon and the likelihood of their being native products becomes stronger when considered with the background of the filigree pieces already discussed.

---

[1] *Cat. Nat. Mus. Ant. Scotland* (1892), p. 202; Finlay, *Scottish Crafts* (1948), col. pl. opp. p. 57.

[2] R. Jessup, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXVIII, 2, *c*, cf. pl. XXXVII, 1, and 2, *a*.

[3] H. Schlunk, 'The Crosses of Oviedo', *The Art Bulletin*, xxxii (1950), 91–114.

[4] Arbman, 1937, Taf. 63, 8 and 9.

[5] A technique known in Carolingian work, but there is no evidence of it so far in England. The flower centre pattern is known on Anglo-Saxon jewellery, e.g. Southend, *Ant. Journ.* xi, 61; High Wycombe, *V.C.H. Bucks.* i, 195; Sheffield Public Museum, *Cat.* Bateman Coll. (1899), p. 223; but it is also not unknown on the continent.

[6] Arbman, 1937, pp. 200–1, Taf. 61, 2, 62, 17.

[7] E. T. Leeds, 'Notes on examples of late Anglo-Saxon metalwork', *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, iv (1911); F. and H. Elgee, *Archaeology of Yorkshire*, p. 186; *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lancs. and Cheshire* (1870–1), xxiii, 200. These two discs do not appear to have been published, although Sir Thomas Kendrick realized their importance when reviewing Arbman's *Schweden und das Karolingische Reich* in *Ant. Journ.* xviii, 87–88. These associated objects were not known to Leeds when he wrote about the strap-ends in 1911.

The firmest dating evidence is provided by the silver trefoil brooch found at Kirkoswald, Cumberland (with stycas indicating date of deposition of A.D. 865), which is decorated by granule clusters in groups of three attached to stems of vine-scrolls formed by a crimped ribbon soldered at right-angles to the background in the same way as the border to the inset on the Windsor pommel.[1] The work throughout, however, is much thicker and heavier. Connexions with the Lilla Howe discs and the Hon brooch already mentioned are confirmed by the recurrence of the fleur-de-lis motif.

A case has been made out for a thriving school of Northumbrian plant filigree about A.D. 800,[2] i.e. earlier than the famous works in similar technique on the continent, but it seems possible to draw still further conclusions as to Anglo-Saxon filigree work at this date on the basis of the examples brought forward here. Two schools seem to emerge, one producing a filigree pattern of superimposition, featuring animal-headed serpents, which was sometimes soldered complete to a base as on the Windsor pommel and Ashmolean ring, or left free as in the case of the Dorchester ring. As the find-spots of two of these are in Wessex, one may provisionally assume they are products of the south of England. The other school, located by Haseloff in Northumbria, favoured plant scroll designs in ribbon filigree, and it is the frame in this technique on the Windsor pommel which connects the two schools.

One more of the small bosses from Hon[3] shows traits from both as well (pl. XLIV, *a*). The centre-piece is an incurved square with animal-head terminals like the Strickland brooch. Each side of the square is formed by an arc of vertical filigree, the scalloped edge of which is flattened slightly to give a beaded effect; the ends of the arcs curl round, and within is contained a gripping beast in filigree-encrusted repoussé, its long neck enabling the head to appear to go through the frame and act as the corner-piece of the square. The use of vertical filigree as a frame for animal ornament occurs on the Windsor pommel, and the curled ends are like the Northumbrian scrolls. The same technique is used for the step-pattern border, so that relationship to cloisonné work is apparent.

The case for the production of plant designs in ribbon filigree is strengthened for England, and particularly the north, by the Yorkshire discs. From slightly farther south, from the River Witham at Lincoln, came the silver hanging bowl, now lost, of which drawings were found in 1940 and published by Kendrick.[4] On the basis of these it was judged that the bowl was of Mercian or Anglian workmanship, but there was doubt concerning the technique in which the scrolls and interlace on the roundels were carried out. Since then, a wood block in the keeping of the Society of Antiquaries has

---

[1] This ribbon filigree in combination with granular work is also to be seen on the gold ring with sard intaglio found near Faversham, Kent, British Museum R.C. 206. O. M. Dalton, *Cat. of Finger Rings, Early Christian* (1912), pl. I, 206.

[2] G. Haseloff, 'An Anglo-Saxon openwork mount from Whitby Abbey', *Ant. Journ.* XXX (1950), 170–4; discussed also by W. Holmqvist, *Germanic Art* (1955), pp. 66–72. According to G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture* (1957), 42–43, pl. 81, the Whitby lead mount was made *c.* A.D. 1200, but even if this is the case, the coherence of the filigree material grouped by Haseloff is not thereby disturbed.

[3] W. Holmqvist, *op. cit.* (1959), fig. 13, pp. 57 et seq.

[4] *Antiq. Journ.* XXI, 161–2, pls. XXXIV and XXV.

been discovered by Mr. J. Hopkins (fig. 8). This must have been made at a time when wood blocks were still in general use, probably as early as the drawings which were made while the bowl was in the possession of John Heywood Hawkins, who died in 1877. The viewpoint taken on this block is an oblique one, and reveals that the interlace and scrolled 'tree of life' motif were executed in vertical ribbon filigree surmounted by a row of beaded or twisted wire. The vessel bears comparison with the Ormside bowl in the rarer quality of its metal and the quadrilateral arrangement in decoration, as well as in such details as the use of blue glass, studs of cabochon shape, and interlace on the central discs. These plaques also bring to mind a bronze boss found at Ribchester, Lancs.,[1] which is likewise divided into four segments filled alternately with interlace and diverging scrolls, the radiating bands in the outer zone again being in herringbone pattern, but the places of the animal-headed studs on the Lincoln bowl are taken there by zoomorphic panels. It seems that Kendrick's appraisal of the Lincoln bowl may stand, and the beginnings made by Kentish craftsmen in this upstanding filigree must have been fostered in England by later workers farther north, as well as being passed on to Irish centres.

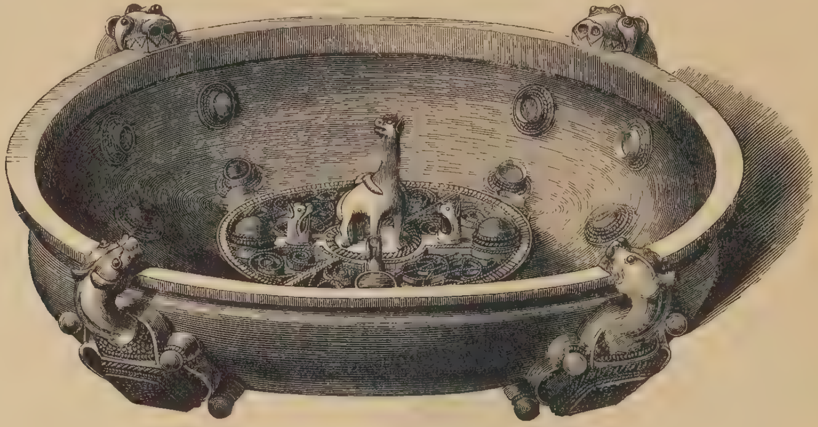


FIG. 8. Silver hanging bowl from the River Witham at Lincoln. ($c. \frac{2}{3}$)

The scrolls later become characteristic of Carolingian work, so that it is reassuring to find further firm indications of the design early in England. The fleur-de-lis motif of the Kirkoswald and Mosnes[2] brooches is to be found in a different form of metalwork on the corners of the back of the silver altar in St. Cuthbert's coffin.[3] In metalwork again, but in still another technique, and this time even more securely dated, is the design on a coin of Offa of a square with incurved sides, each corner of which sprays out into a fleur-de-lis.[4] The coin was struck at Canterbury about A.D. 780, and a copy was struck for Charlemagne at Lucca in Italy. This brings out the direction of the borrowing of a design, and reminds one of the superiority of the work of moneyers in England at the time of Offa compared with that on the continent. That this state of affairs may also represent the comparative proficiency of the jewellers as well is brought out by other designs on sceattas and later coins, and also by the combination of the office of moneyer and jeweller in the one person of St. Eligius. The point may immediately be supported by the design on the Offa coin which betrays its affinity to filigree work by the cross bands at the base of each fleur-de-lis and by the pellets corresponding to granules. Further, this represents the basic design of a whole series of brooches and pendants in the ensuing centuries, beginning with the contemporary one already mentioned, the Hon pendant with gripping-beast ornament.[1] But the Offa coin has even more to tell, since the pattern is a Kentish one, based on earlier sceatta designs, and it seems to follow from this that scroll filigree was known in Kent by A.D. 780. The pendant with triple scroll design found in the Trewhiddle hoard is evidence for continuance of the type in southern England in the next century. Later still, scrolls and fleur-de-lis in vertical filigree occur on inset plates on the disc brooch from King's College, Canterbury.

---

[1] *V.C.H. Lancs.* i, pl. opp. 260.

[2] G. Haseloff, *op. cit.* pl. xx, *b* and *a*.

[3] C. F. Battiscombe, *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert* (1956), p. 333, fig. 3, pl. XIX.

[4] C. E. Blunt, 'Four Italian Coins imitating Anglo-Saxon types', *Brit. Num. Journ.* XXV (1947), 282–5, fig. 2.

A further development of the late ninth century in the form of hilts and the techniques used on them presents itself in the silver pommel found in the River Seine at Paris (pl. XLV, *b*).[2] There can be no doubt of the English pedigree of this object. It belongs to the group of sword hilts which Petersen called Type L, the best examples of which he thought must have been imported from this country. Decorated in silver and niello in a style similar to that known as 'Trewhiddle' are the hilts from Hoven, Grønneberg, and Dolven in Norway,[3] and the Witham at Lincoln,[4] etc., but the Seine pommel is clearly akin to the Abingdon sword.[5] The pair of animal heads with ears are evident on both and each is backed by a panel of thick leaves. The centre part of the Seine pommel differs in displaying an inverted calix-like cap at the top as on the Hoven hilt, and below that a recessed arched cavity filled, as on the Windsor pommel, with a gold plate and vertical borders, but the filigree design is far simpler and coarser and is carried out in ribbon strips with scalloped edges.

Out of the small quantity of filigree which has come down to us from the eighth century, the Windsor pommel speaks for the consummate skill of an Anglo-Saxon craftsman who could produce an outstanding work of rare delicacy, and the disc-bezel ring in the Ashmolean Museum shows that this was not the only successful achievement of the time in the same zoomorphic tradition and in an exclusively individual technique. Although Celtic and Saxon workmanship merge to a sometimes inseparable degree, Anglo-Saxon filigree evidently followed certain lines of development different from those of the Celtic world in the eighth century, and while nothing so ambitious as the Ardagh chalice has survived, there are things which a continental jeweller would have found worthy of copying, and such specimens were no doubt taken by the same routes which served for the ecclesiastical export of manuscripts and coins.

With the Danish invasions came the decline of learning, according to Alfred, and although the Trewhiddle hoard and other works of this type mirror no corresponding degeneration in southern English silver-and-niello craftsmanship, we know little of their efforts in filigree. The Alfred jewel at the end of the ninth century, which must represent a renaissance under Alfred's encouragement, is of quite another order, relying more on plain wire and granular effects. It becomes more and more evident that many of the missing Anglo-Saxon works of the eighth century are to be sought in other countries to which they were taken by the Vikings.

---

[1] Arbman, 1937, Taf. 60, 2; cf. also Taf. 62, 16, 62, 3, etc.

[2] *B.M. Anglo-Saxon Guide*, fig. 205.

[3] Bruce-Mitford, 1956, pl. XXI, A, pl. XXIII.

[4] *Sheffield City Museum Annual Report*, 1955–6, pl. 2, *b*.

[5] Bruce-Mitford, 1956, pl. XXI, B.

CONCLUSION

In the course of discussion the hilt of the Westminster sword has been compared with other hilts, most of which were found in other European countries. It may be seen that the artistic and technical resemblances to many of these swords, and in particular to those from Termonde in Belgium and Mannheim in Germany, are so striking that the same centre of production may be proposed for them.

Worthy of the closest attention in this critical period of the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries, when jewellers' and metalworkers' crafts were not destined to survive in such abundance as those of the pagan period, are the motifs selected by the artist. The square with incurved sides is well known in the Trewhiddle style of the ninth century, but was already making appearances during the eighth century on coins of Offa. It is the foliage scroll, however, the scroll identical with that on the Mannheim sword, which is difficult to trace to its origin. The assumption has been that it is Frankish, and the existence of foliate scrolls even on late Merovingian buckles has been pointed out.[1] It has also been compared with scrolls in manuscripts of the Ada school,[2] for instance, where there is a linear version of the disc-and-triangle leaf. However, this linear scroll usually occurs on the base of a seat or of pillars on a page showing a figure in an architectural framework, the composition of which can be traced through copies of manuscripts back to the fourth century A.D.[3] The scroll detail was copied along with the composition and can hardly be regarded as a reflection of contemporary motifs. Nevertheless, it does mean that a tendril design of sorts was ever present.

The extensive use of leaf scrolls in southern English manuscripts of the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries has already been noted, and their relationship with metalwork emphasized, especially in the black and white effects of nielloed silver. A further pertinent detail to be noted is that the ends of tendrils often curl round to thicken into a disc,[4] as the line of the stem on the Westminster–Mannheim tendrils curves into the disc of the leaf. It is not, then, the linear, traditional scroll or the acanthus flourishes of Carolingian manuscripts which concern us, but the tendrils with simple, pointed leaves to be found in English manuscripts.[5]

In metalwork, also, there are parallels to be found. An early example with possible affinity occurs on the seventh-century reliquary from Holland[6] decorated with divided leaves of scroll and point, but the origin of these is made clear by the trefoil half-palmette motif on the gable ends of the roof. The most valuable comparison, however, lies in the Tassilo chalice. Not only is this vessel an intricately worked source of animal and foliage designs with portrait medallions, but it is also securely dated by an inscription to near A.D. 777. A very simple and regular leaf-tendril frames the top of the figures on the foot of the chalice, and a single scroll and pointed leaf, in composition near to the Westminster one, fills the small triangular spaces at the rim of the cup.[1] This vessel combines in effective contrast two techniques current in eighth-century England, the intricate chip-carved surface of many gilt facets, and the smooth surface of nielloed silver of the inlaid portrait plaques. The form of the chalice follows the lines of the continental type of the period, but the decoration owes much to Anglo-Saxon art, and for these reasons Professor Haseloff considers it to be a product of south Germany where the influence of the Hiberno-Saxon church was very strong.

---

[1] Jankuhn, 1939, p. 161.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 162.

[3] F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine* (1954), p. 6, pl. VII and pl. XI, *b*.

[4] B.M. Cotton Tib. C. II, Brøndsted, 1924, fig. 101.

[5] e.g. B.M. MS. Royal I E VI.

[6] A. Wassenbergh, L. J. F. Wijsenbeek, *Van Friezen, Franken en Saksen* (1959), pl. XXXI.

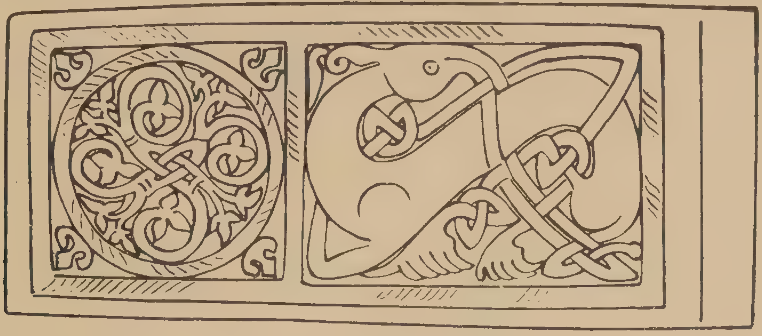


FIG. 9. Sculptured stone slab, Wamphray, Dumfries ($\frac{1}{2}$)
(after J. Romilly Allen).

It is evident that leaf scrolls in metalwork are foreign to Irish art at this early date, for Haseloff could quote only two examples.[2] It is important to notice that these two pieces were found in Norway, and that three more examples in the same style, found recently, have come to light at the Norwegian trading port of Kaupang.[3] The postulation of an Irish origin then becomes extremely shaky, and seems to be entirely overruled by northern works such as the remarkable stone at Wamphray, Dumfries, in southern Scotland (fig. 9).[4] Two separate plaques are carved on this; one is circular and contains quadrants of leaf design, the other is rectangular and contains an S-shaped creature with interlaced extremities, not so very far removed from the Book of Durrow animals. The circular shape of the field available for the foliage decoration, as well as the thick-stemmed scrolls terminating in a three-leafed spray, bring the stone close to the Norwegian metal finds. By this time traits of Celtic art were well represented in manuscripts and metalwork from the south of England to the north, and as the leaf scroll was unknown to Ireland then, it seems that the conditions necessary for the production of these Hiberno-Saxon pieces can only have existed in some part of England or Scotland.

---

[1] Haseloff, 1951, Taf. 7A and B.

[2] Haseloff, 1951, Abb. 38 and 39; H. Shetelig, *Viking Antiquities*, v, figs. 11 and 12.

[3] One is illustrated: C. Blindheim, 'Preliminary report on the recent excavations on Kaupang, near Larvik, Vestfold', *Annen Viking Kongress* (Bergen, 1953), pp. 59–67, fig. 2. See also: C. Blindheim, 'Kaupang undersøkelsen etter 10 år', *Viking*, xxiv (1960), 43–68, fig. 6.

[4] J. Romilly Allen, *op. cit.* iii, 451, fig. 470. *R.C.A. & H.M. Scotland, Dumfries*, no. 628.

The leaf-scroll Haseloff attributed directly to the vine-scroll of northern England may therefore be regarded as more widespread, and although he denied its existence in contemporary Carolingian art, there is the surprising example of the Mannheim sword, and a further one in the hoard found at Muizen-les-Malines (Brabant).[1] This was deposited towards the end of the ninth century, but the two large silver ansate brooches must have been old at the time of deposition, as the form started in the seventh century. Round the margins of the lobes and along the centre of the bow is the nielloed design of a schematic tendril and leaf, the curling outline being a credible single-entity predecessor of the split Westminster–Mannheim leaf.

A corresponding plant motif on the other side of the Channel adorns the Fetter Lane hilt. Such a magnificently decorated hilt might understandably have inspired a minor copy like the Mannheim guards, and the relationship is more impressive when one realizes that although the Frankish effort is in bronze, the leaf design parts of the London silver hilt are gilded and, moreover, both are surrounded by the same black inlay, so that the effect of gold leaves in a black background is achieved on both.

An attempt has been made to show that the Fetter Lane hilt is a form current in southern England at the end of the eighth century, and the motifs and metal techniques are likewise in their native milieu. Further examples of similar motifs in metalwork may be placed beside it. The bronze brooch known as the Canterbury cross (pl. XLVI, *b*) is bordered by a simple leafy tendril, and the centre part of each arm is inlaid with a silver plate bearing a niello triquetra. A simple border like this has already been noticed on the Tassilo chalice, a work also in a baser metal (copper) with nielloed silver-plate inlay. The Canterbury cross is closer still in technique to one of the other chalices from St. Martin des Champs,[2] not dated, but grouped with the Tassilo chalice by reason of its shape, for this also bears triangular inlaid silver plates with triquetra. One must suppose no great diversity of period for the production of these works. A small bronze strip found at Castor, Northants.[3] (pl. XLVI, *a*), bears a drawing of an animal which, like the Fetter Lane beast, has vegetable extremities. The animal, it is true, is a rat-like creature, but graceful in line, and with the naturalism of the Book of Kells; its tail, however, undulates with regularity and sprouts lenticular leaves at intervals.

The lacunae in our knowledge of the weapons in use around the year A.D. 800 must in the foregoing pages have been all too apparent, and it is with great hesitation that an attempt is made to draw conclusions in this field. To those who would say that the Westminster sword was found in London and was therefore made there, one must admit that it is quite different in form from the very few others known from the British Isles, but that on the other hand it falls in neatly with a whole series of its type found in many continental countries. The only other find which gives pause for thought is the Reading sword, another in the same style but with gripping-beast ornament, and this type of decoration, according to some opinions, could have begun in England. Against an English production centre are the find-spots shown on the distribution map, the long-established reputation of the Rhineland for the manufacture of pattern-welded sword blades, and the unlikelihood of the English being in possession of swords of a fighting quality equal to those wielded by the Vikings at the time of the invasions. The virtues of heavier guards and pommel to give better balance are presumed to have been learnt by the natives after bitter experience.

---

[1] Arbman, 1937, pp. 162–3, Abb. 30; K. Böhner, *Die Fränkischen Altertümer des Trierer Landes* (1958); W. Winkelmann, 'Ein münzdatiertes Grab des 7 Jahrhunderts n. Chr. aus Hemer, Kr. Iserlohn', *Germania*, xxxvii (1959), 303.

[2] Haseloff, 1951, Taf. 9B.

[3] Peterborough Museum. Mr. G. C. Dunning brought this object to my notice.

In the matter of weapons, then, the Anglo-Saxons of the eighth century probably had little to give, but in the sphere of decorative metalwork they must have been unsurpassed, and in this respect, not only the Westminster sword, but many another in Europe, draws on insular sources for pattern ideas and craftsman's skill. It is Anglo-Saxon inspiration which is responsible for the style of the animal on the hilt from Aalburg (pl. XXXVII, *c*). The vine-scroll can be traced in the first place to Northumbria, but versions in metalwork appear much farther south, the finest example of gold leaves in a black setting being found at Fetter Lane in London. The inclusion of the Kaupang and other Norwegian finds amongst Hiberno-Saxon works increases the small number of this type by at least five pieces. One of these,[1] a silver disc with convex surface from Kaupang, was no doubt gilded, and in one panel two running tendrils diverging from the same stem bear spirals terminating in a thickened disc or a leaf. There is black inlay in the background. Not only is this design of gold leaves in a black setting common to a number of the works mentioned here, but the unusual recipe for this material in the Fetter Lane sword is found also on the Westminster and Mannheim hilts, at Leiden and Termonde, and possibly also Steinsvik.[2] This is strong evidence for close communication between the workshops, although it is not known how widespread the use of this material might be.

It seems therefore that the Westminster hilt, perhaps as a unit with its blade, must be assigned to a Rhineland origin, but the sources of inspiration for the particular type of foliate scroll and its metalwork technique are to be found only in England, and both are combined on a fine Anglo-Saxon hilt eminently worthy of a copyist's attention. The sword found in the Palace of Westminster must swell the ranks of Frankish works which owed so much to models from this country, but in this instance it is the south, rather than the north, of England which provided the impetus.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to express my very grateful thanks to colleagues and friends in foreign countries who very kindly supplied information and photographs, either on the occasion of my visits, or by correspondence: Mr. E. Bakka, Bergen; Mrs. C. Blindheim, Oslo; Dr. L. W. Böhm, Mannheim; Dr. W. C. Braat, Leiden; Dr. W. Holmqvist, Stockholm; Professor E. Kivikoski, Helsinki; M. M. E. Mariën, Brussels; Dr. W. von Pfeffer, Mainz; Dr.

---

[1] C. Blindheim, *op. cit.* (1960), fig. 6, middle right.

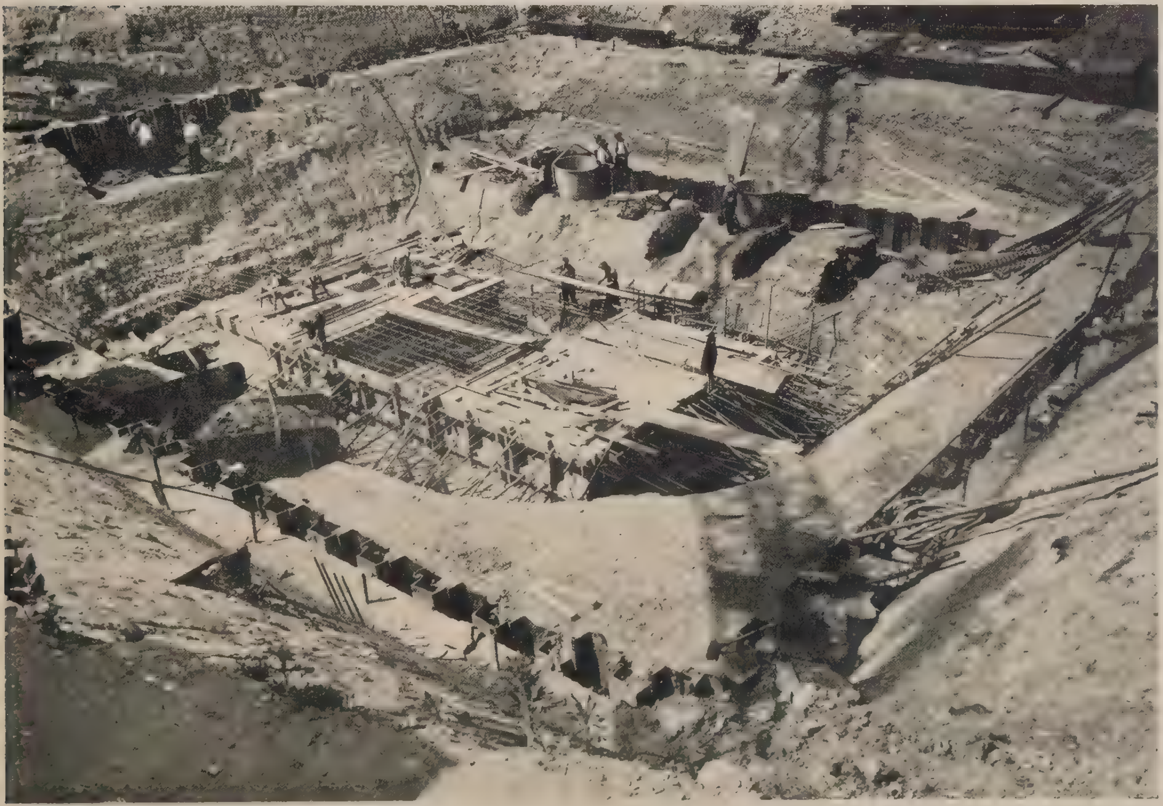
[2] The black inlay in this looks similar but has not yet been examined.

K. Raddatz, Schleswig; Dr. Seltzer, Mainz; Dr. P. Simonsen, Tromsø; Miss W. Slomann, Oslo; M. G. Squilbeck, Brussels; Mr. J. Ypey, Amersfoort. My thanks are also due to Mr. J. Boardman, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Miss J. M. Cook, Royal Museum, Canterbury, for photographs. The drawings, figs. 2–5 and 7, are by Mrs. E. M. Fry-Stone (née Meikle).

ABBREVIATIONS

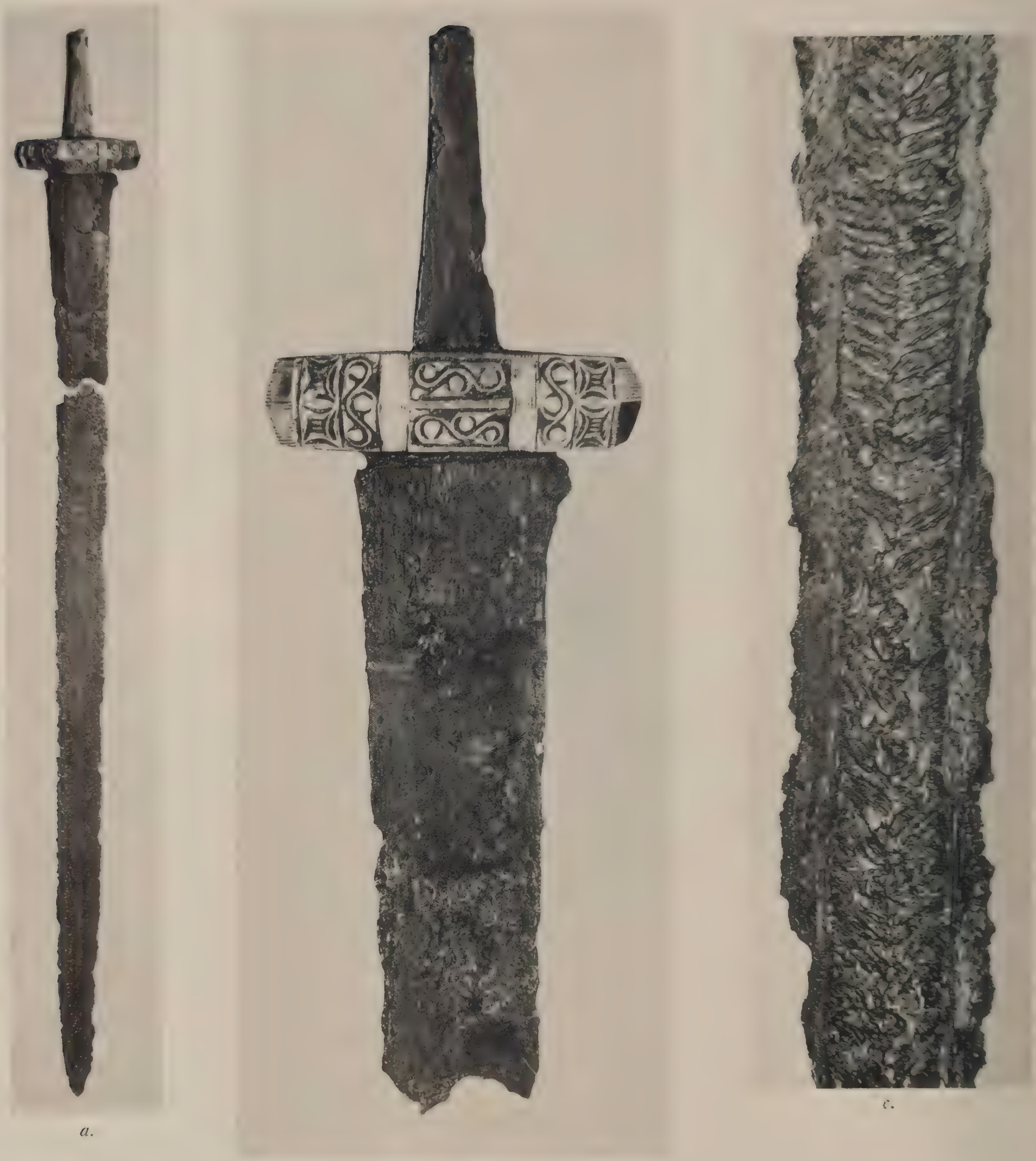
Arbman, 1937: H. Arbman, *Schweden und das karolingische Reich* (1937).
Behmer, 1939: E. Behmer, *Das Zweischneidige Schwert der Germanischen Völkerwanderungszeit* (1939).
Brøndsted, 1924: J. Brøndsted, *Early English Ornament* (1924).
Bruce-Mitford, 1956: R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford, 'Late Saxon Disc-Brooches', *Dark Age Britain* (1956), ed. D. B. Harden.
Gjessing, 1934: G. Gjessing, 'Studier i norsk merovingertid', *Skrifter det Norske Videnskaps-akademi i Oslo* (1934), ii, Hist. Filos. Kl.
Haseloff, 1951: G. Haseloff, *Der Tassilokelch* (1951).
Jankuhn, 1939: H. Jankuhn, 'Eine Schwertform aus karolingischer Zeit', *Offa*, iv (1939).
Kendrick, 1938: T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938).
Petersen, 1919: J. Petersen, *De Norske Vikingesverd* (1919).
Zimmermann, 1916: E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (1916).

a. The Houses of Parliament, Westminster. The find-spot of the sword is in front of Victoria Tower



b. View of excavation from the south-east. The white cross marks the position of the sword

Photos: Ministry of Works

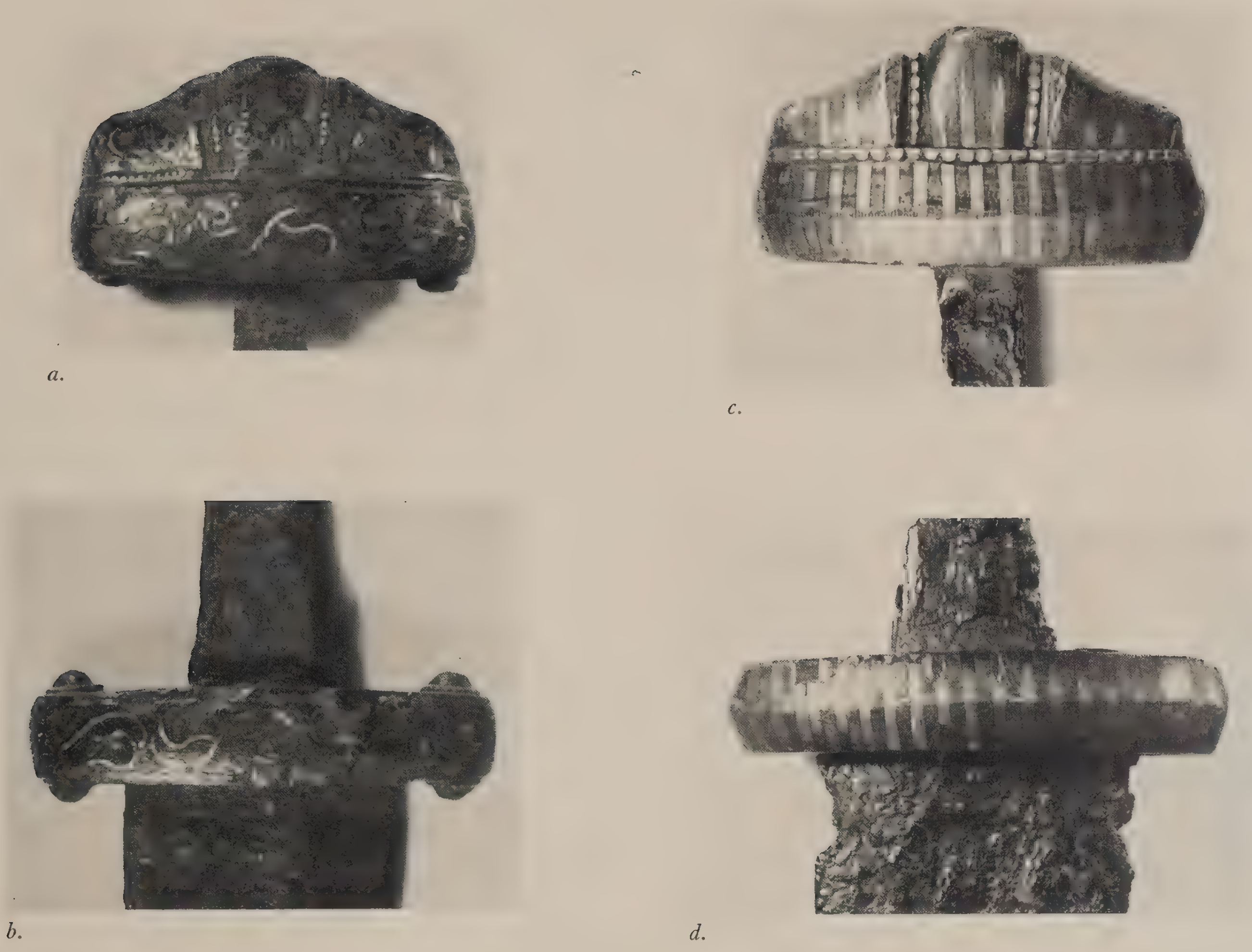


a.

b.

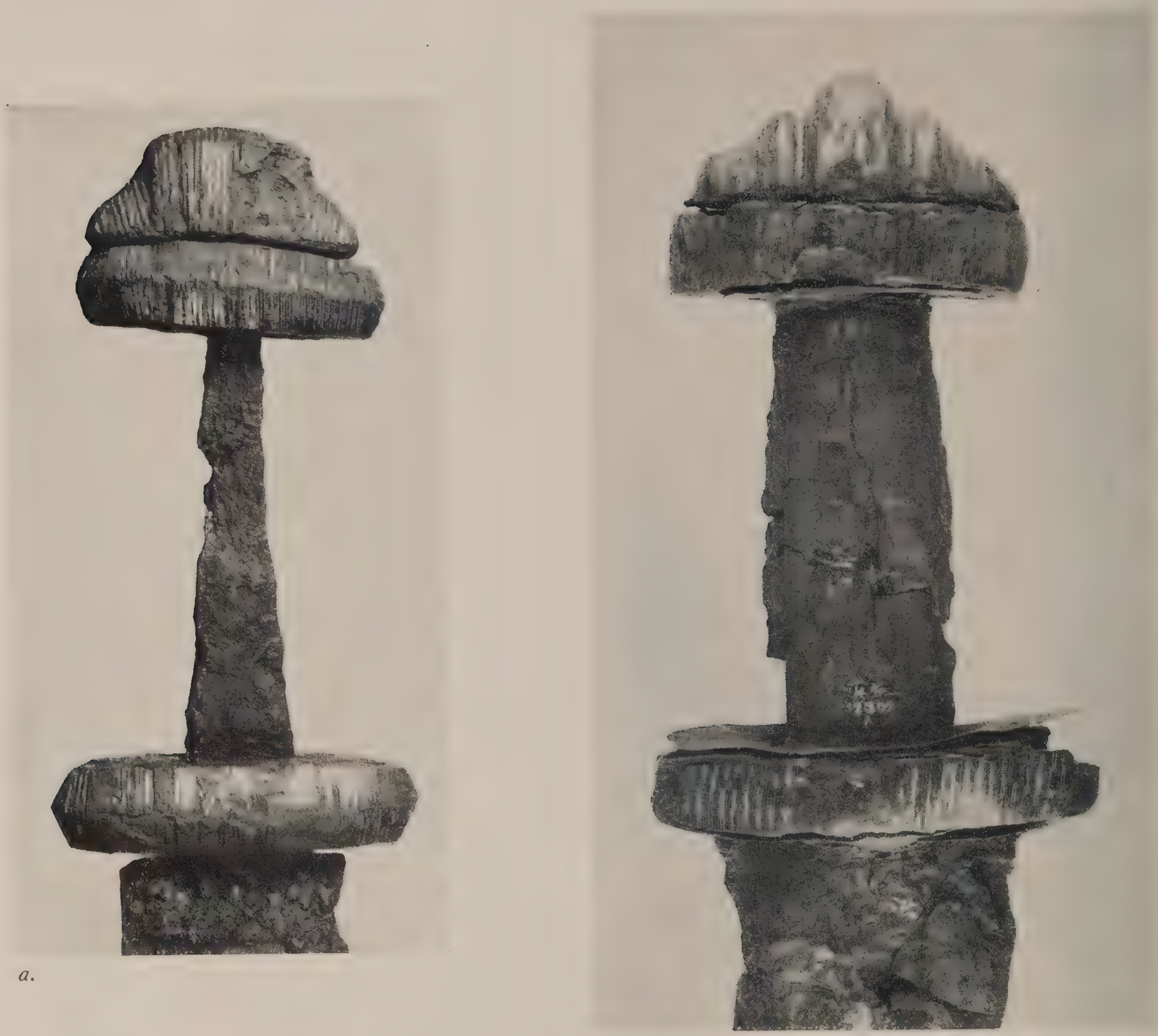
c.

(*a*) Palace of Westminster sword ($\frac{1}{5}$)
(*b*) The hilt, top of scabbard, and blade ($\frac{3}{4}$)
(*c*) Part of the pattern-welded blade after cleaning ($\frac{1}{1}$)
Photos: Ministry of Works



(*a*), (*b*) Suffelweihersheim ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 131)
(*c*), (*d*) The Rhine at Speyer ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 132)
Photos: Altertumsmuseum und Gemäldegalerie der Stadt Mainz

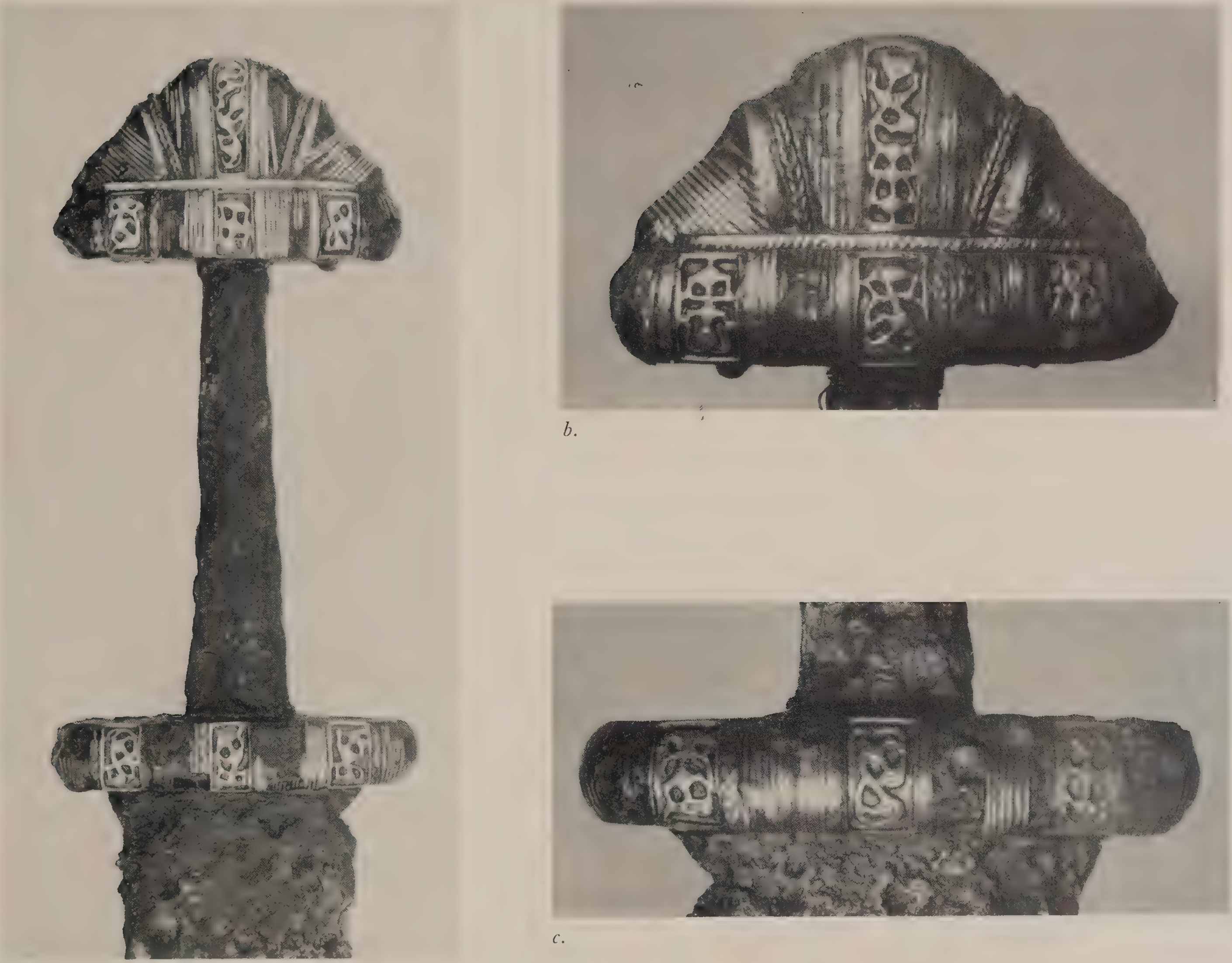
PLATE XXXV



a.

b.

(*a*) Halle, Vestfold ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 132) *Photo: Universitets Oldsakssamling, Oslo*
(*b*) Boat-chamber grave, Hedeby ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 132) *Photo: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Schleswig*



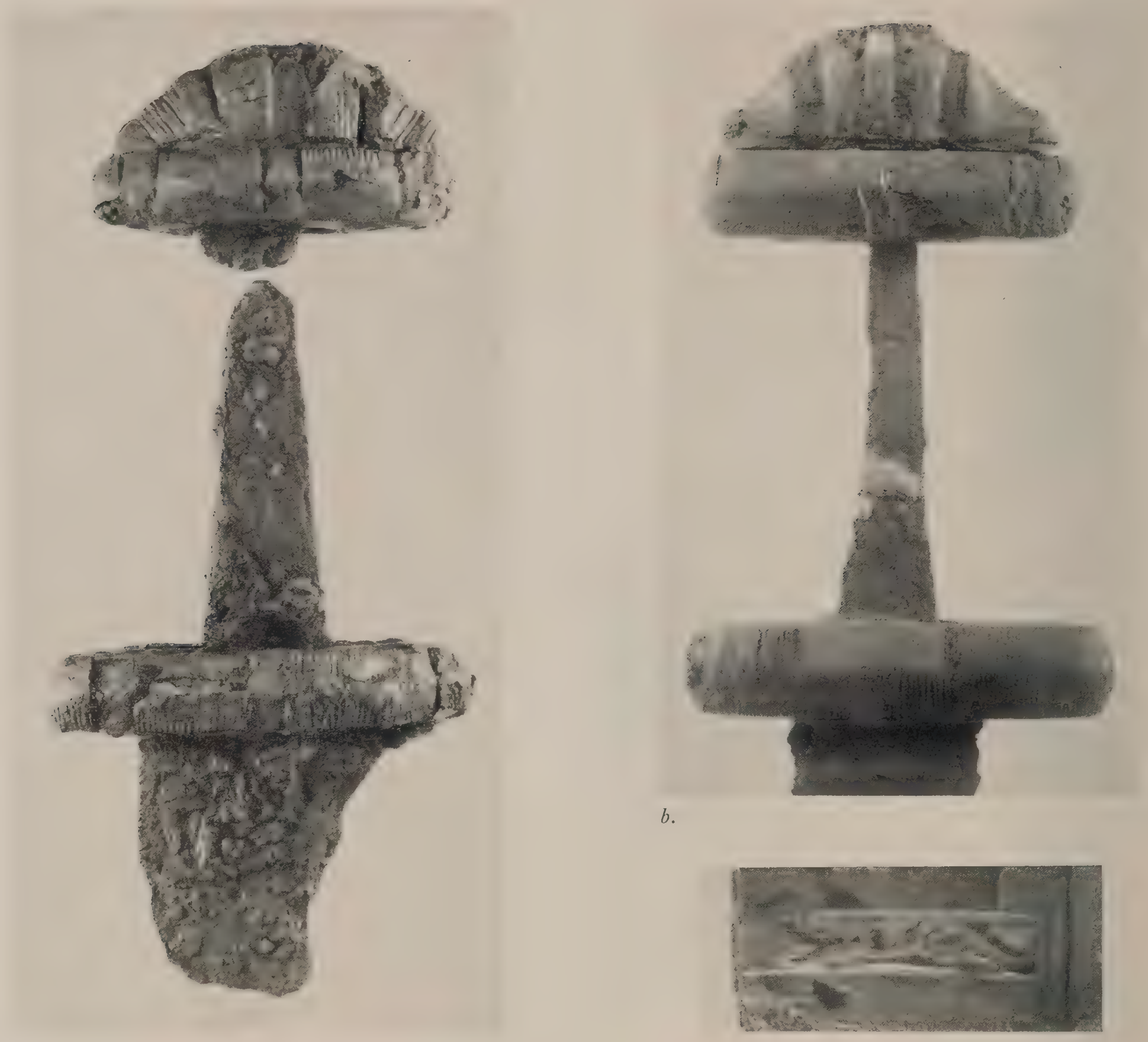
a.

b.

c.

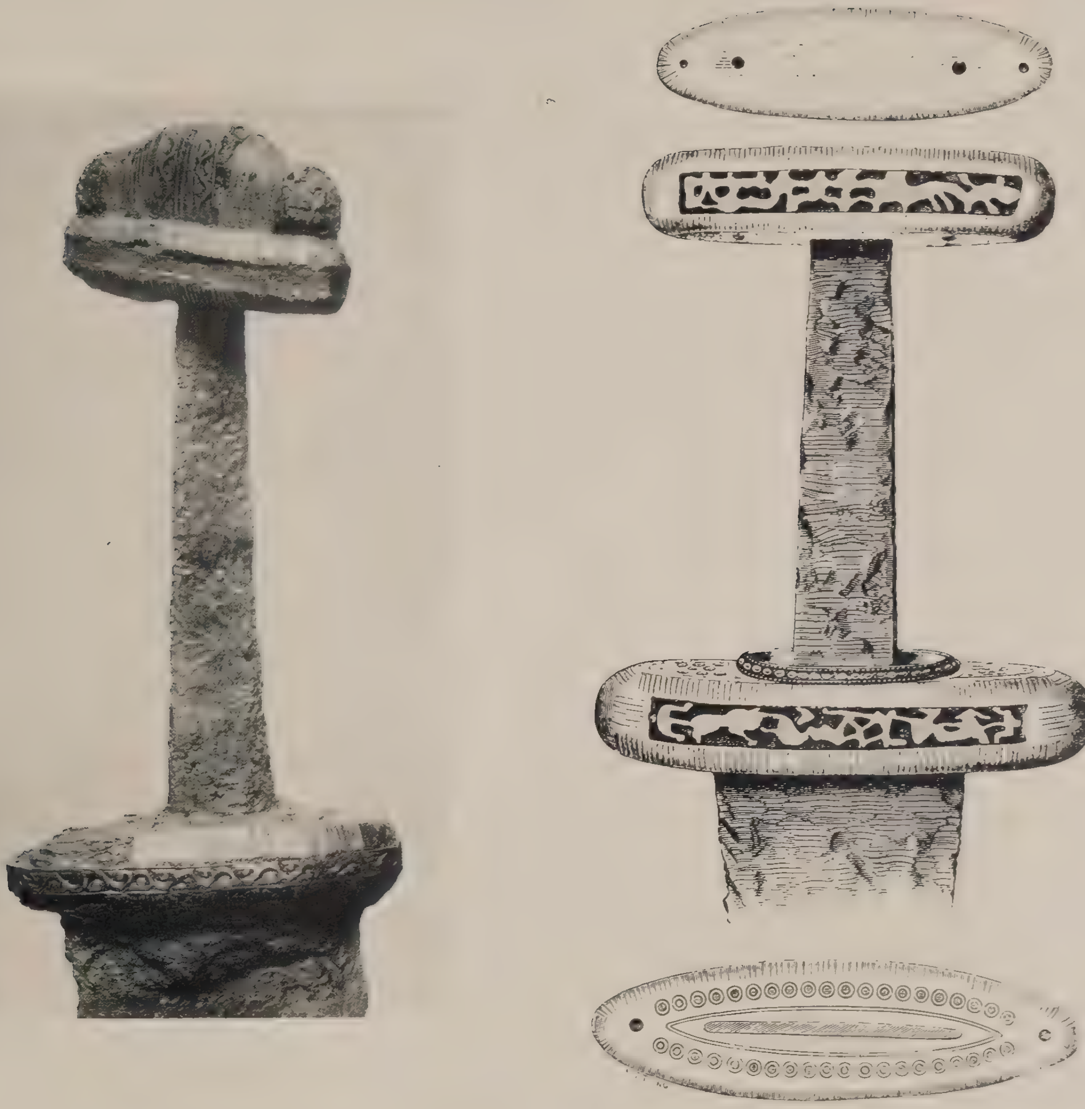
(*a*) Steinsvik ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 132) *Photo: Universitets Oldsakssamling, Oslo*
(*b*) (*c*) Reverse, slightly enlarged

PLATE XXXVII



a. b. c.

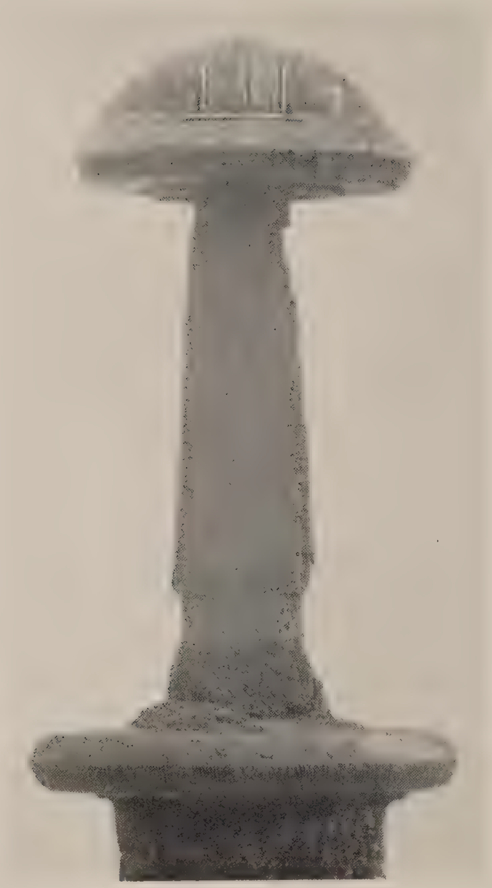
(*a*) Håheim ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 134) *Photo: Historisk Museum, Universitet i Bergen*
(*b*) Meuse near Aalburg ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 134)
(*c*) Enlargement of inlaid plate with animal ornament on (*b*) *Photos: Museum van Oudheden, Leiden*



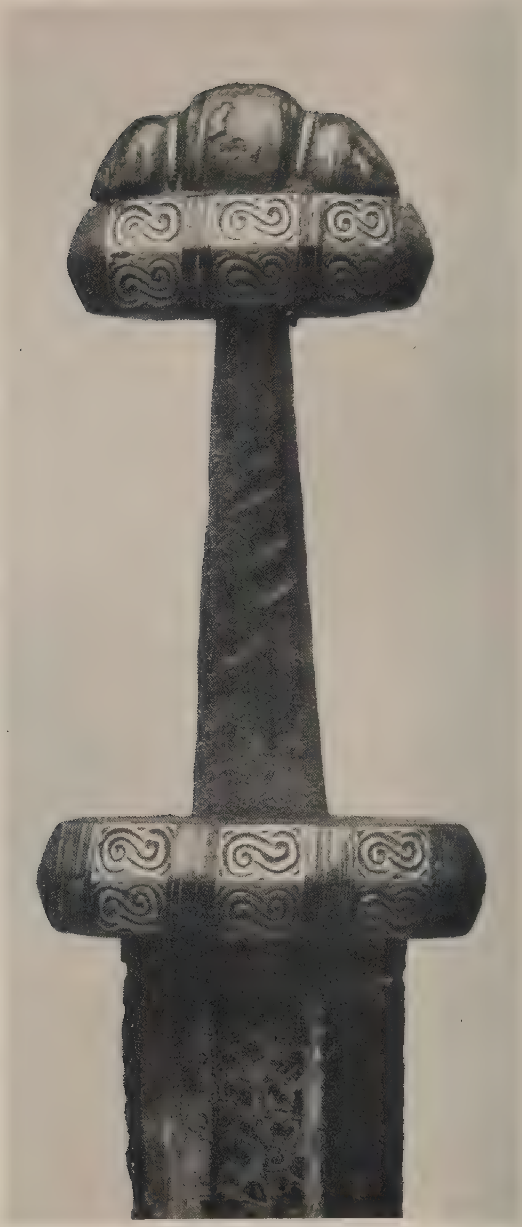
a.

b.

(*a*) Rhine at Mannheim ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 134) *Photo: Reiss Museum, Mannheim*
(*b*) Reading, Berks. (scale unknown) (p. 135) (After *P.S.A.* 2nd ser. III, p. 462)

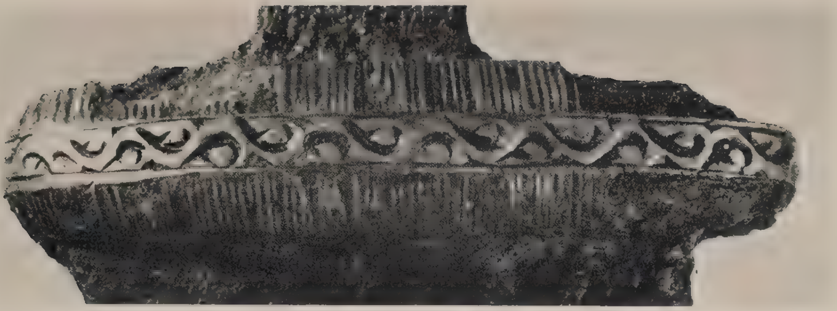


a.

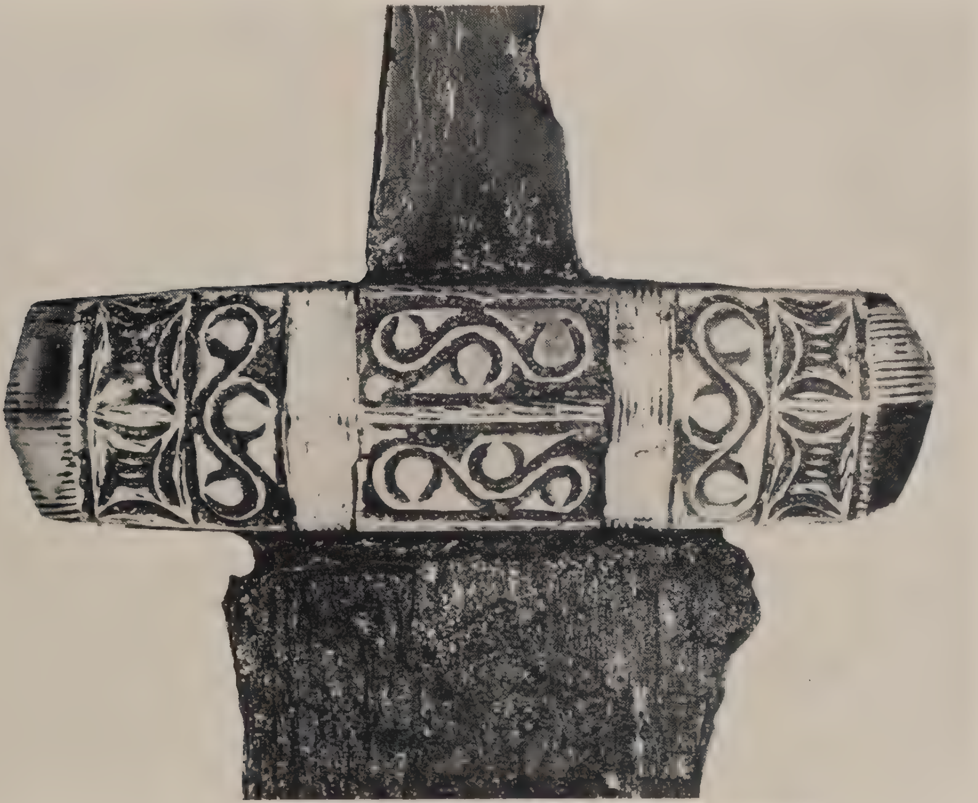


b.

(*a*) Wijk bij Duurstede, Holland ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 136) *Photo: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden*
(*b*) Termande, Belgium ($\frac{3}{4}$) (p. 136) *Photo: Copyright A.C.L. Bruxelles*

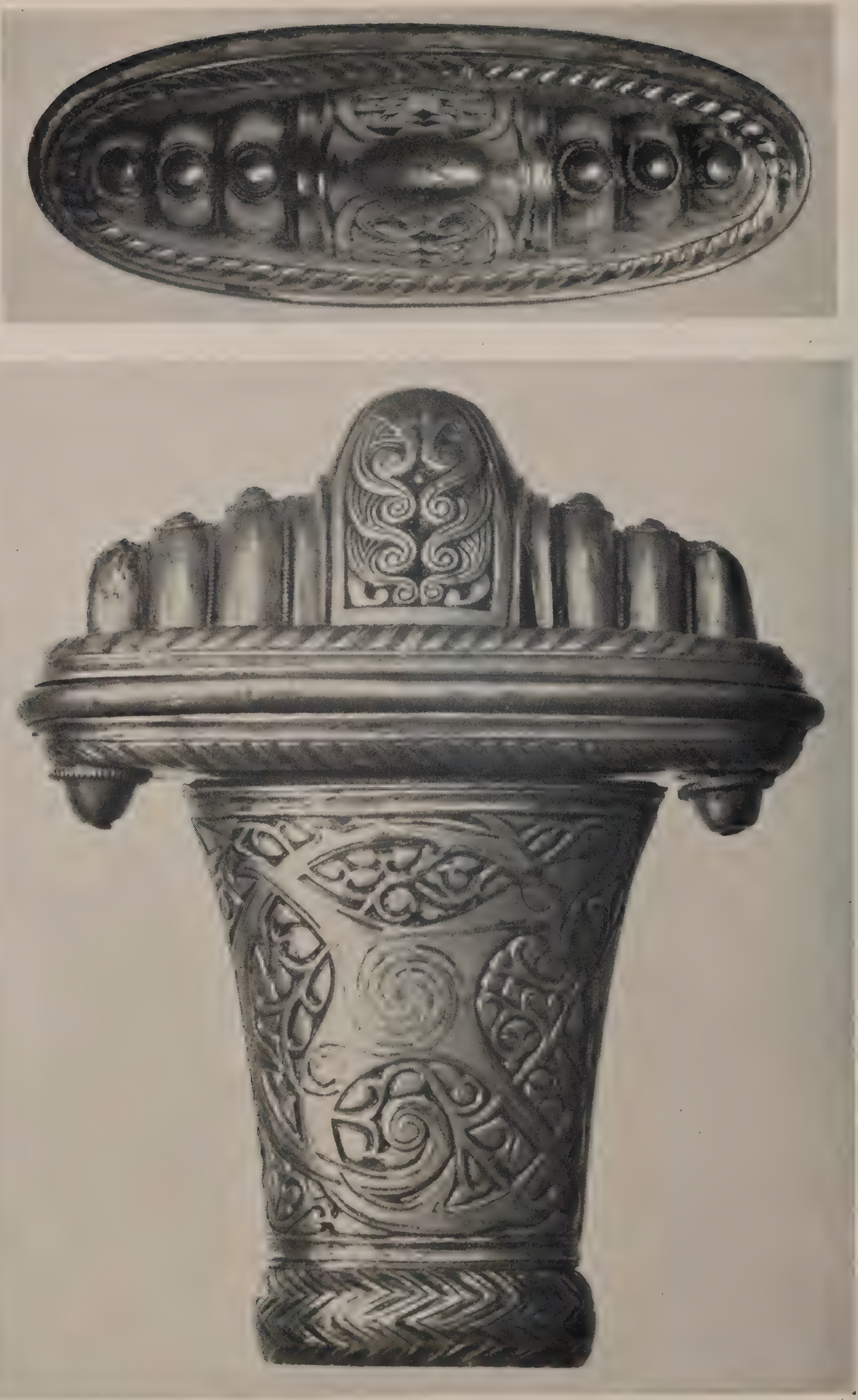


a. Detail of guard on Mannheim sword. ($\frac{3}{2}$) *Photo: Reiss Museum, Mannheim*

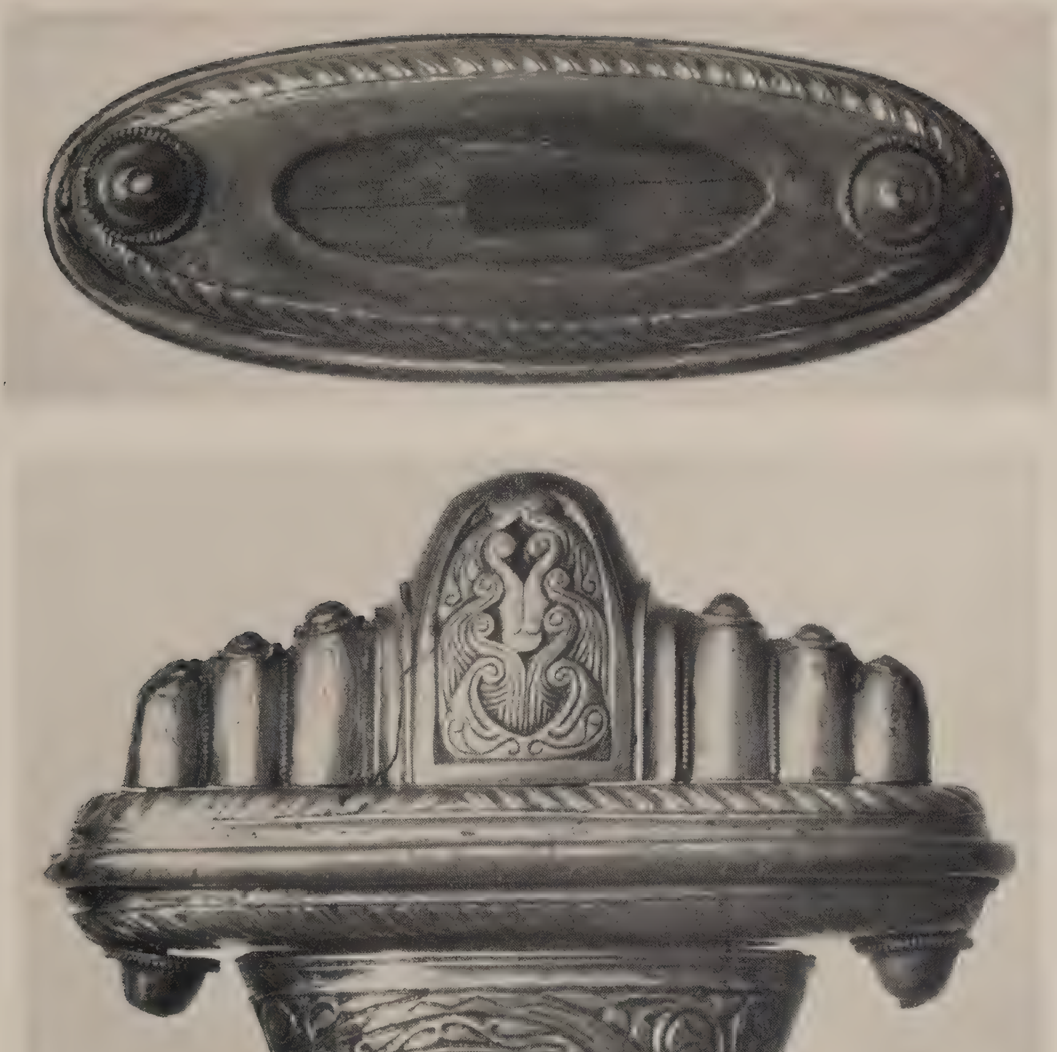


b. Detail of guard on Westminster sword ($\frac{3}{2}$) *Photo: Ministry of Works*

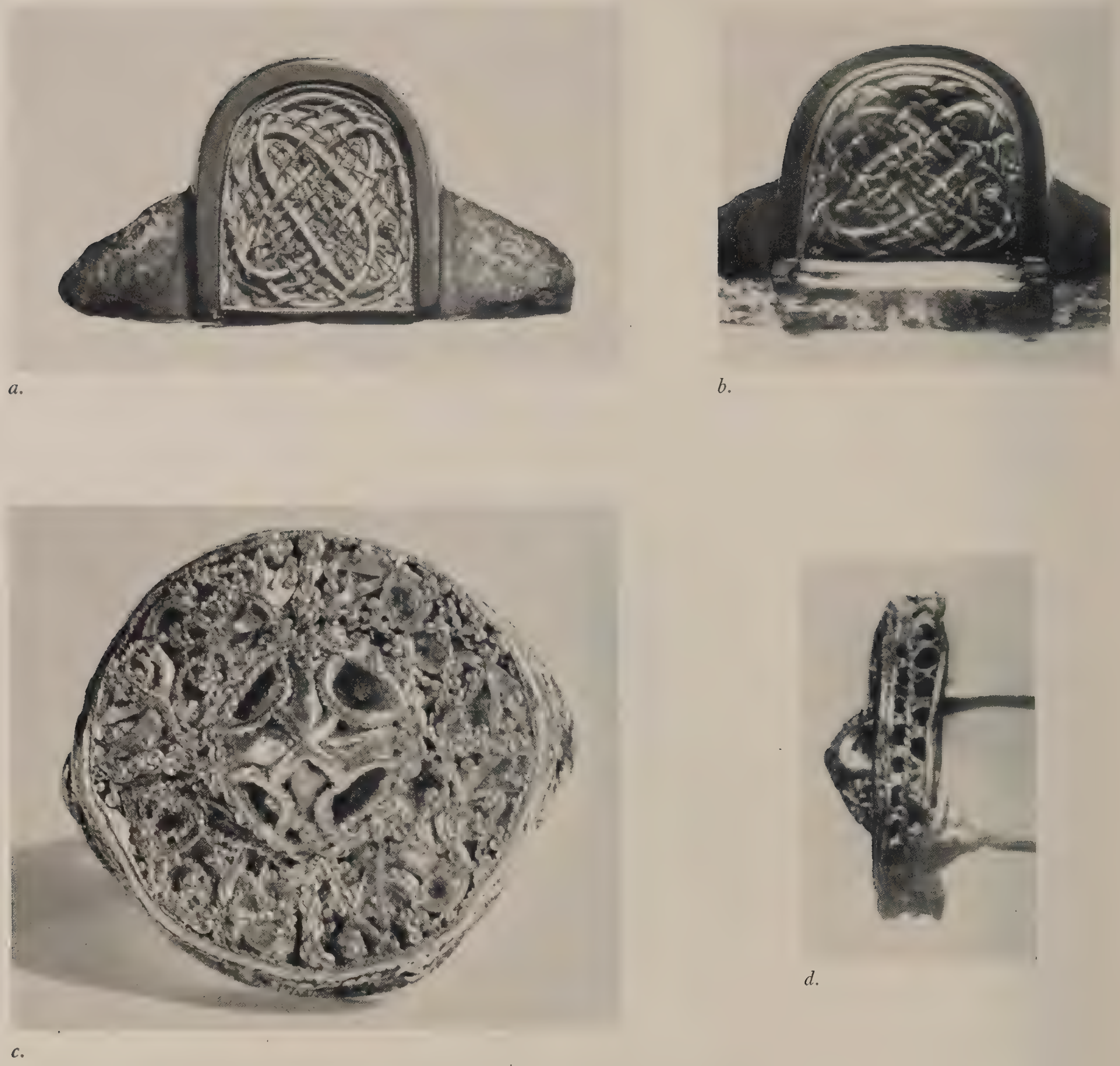
PLATE XLI



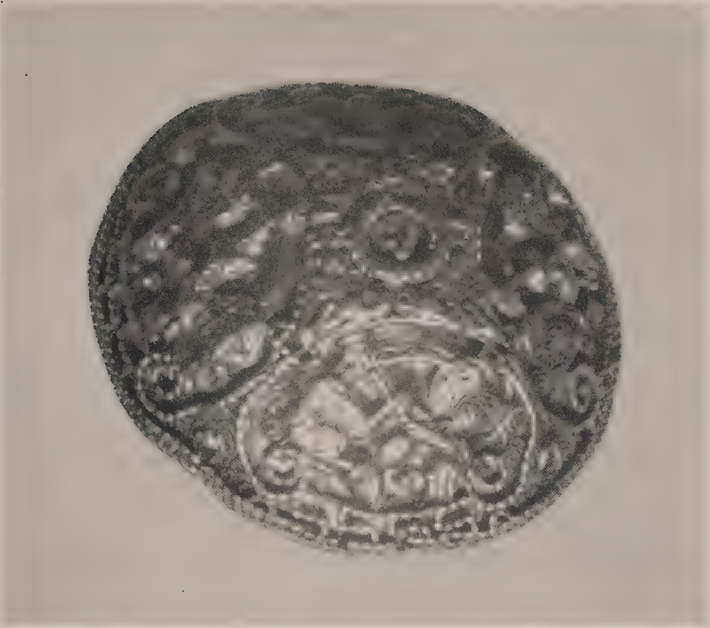
Fetter Lane hilt ($\frac{2}{1}$) (p. 140) *Photo: By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*



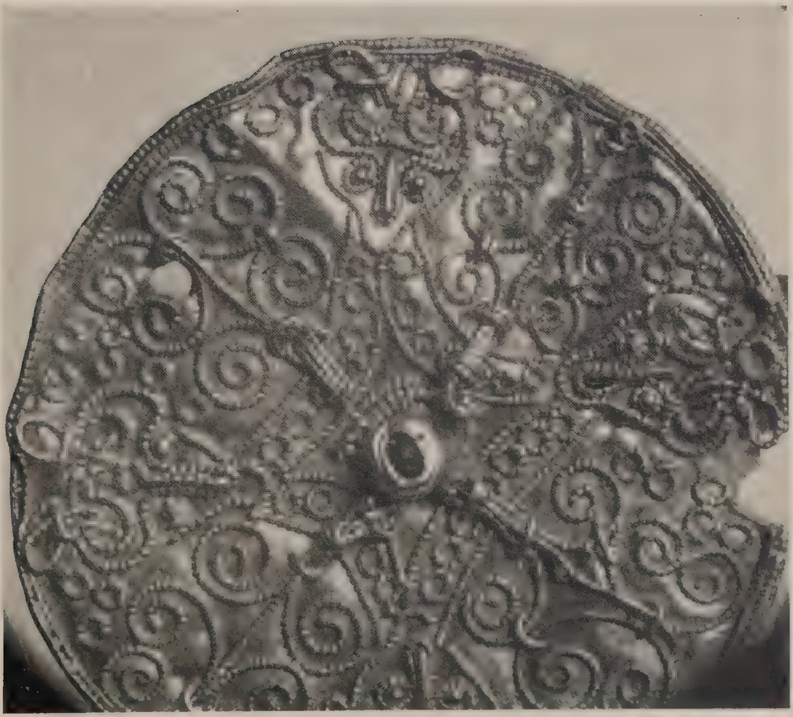
Fetter Lane hilt ($\frac{2}{1}$) *Photo: By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*



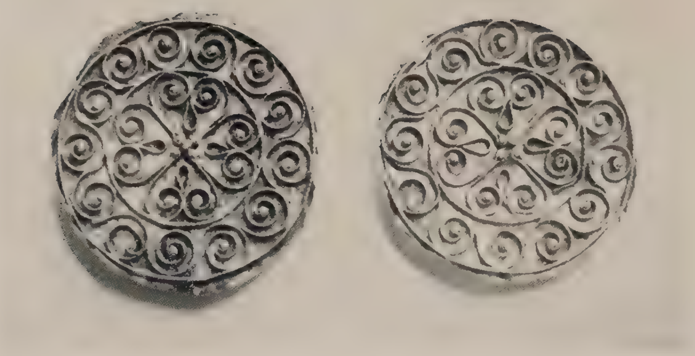
(*a*) Windsor pommel ($\frac{2}{1}$) (p. 145) *Photo: Ashmolean Museum*
(*b*) Windsor pommel: oblique view showing vertical border
(*c*) Gold ring, Ashmolean Museum ($\frac{3}{1}$) (p. 146) *Photo: Ashmolean Museum*
(*d*) Gold ring, Ashmolean Museum (*c.* $\frac{2}{1}$), side view



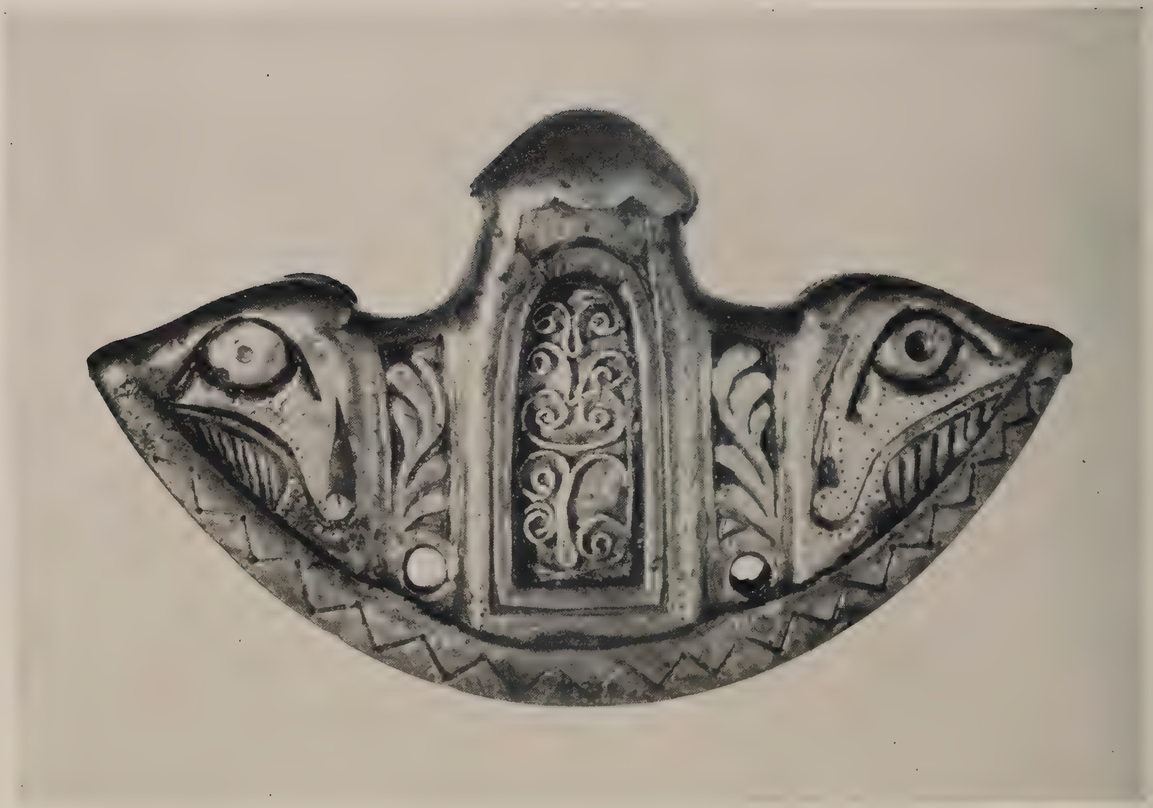
a. Gold ornament from Hon, Norway ($\frac{3}{1}$) (p. 151)



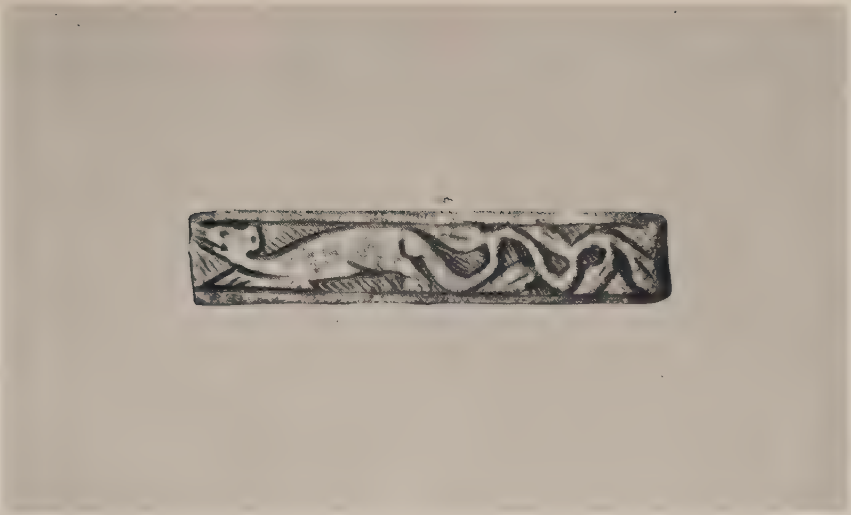
b. Gold pendant from Hon, Norway (*c.* $\frac{2}{1}$) (p. 148)



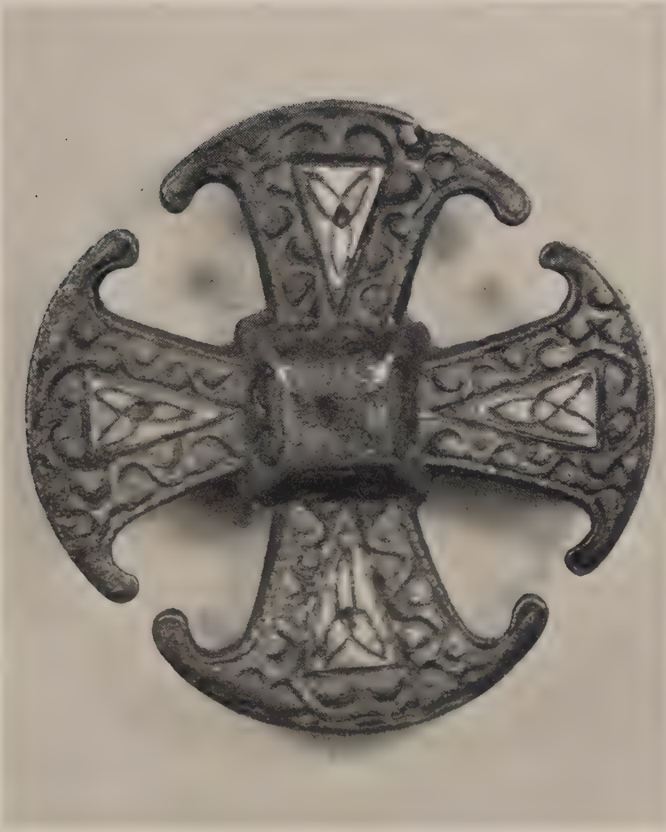
a. Gold discs, Lilla Howe, Yorks. ($\frac{1}{1}$) (p. 150)



b. Silver sword pommel from the Seine at Paris ($\frac{2}{1}$) (p. 153) *Photo: By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*



a. Bronze strip, Castor, Northants. ($\frac{2}{1}$) (p. 156)



b. Canterbury cross ($\frac{2}{1}$) (p. 156) *Photo: Royal Museum, Canterbury*

The Earlier Royal Funeral Effigies

NEW LIGHT ON PORTRAITURE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

By R. P. HOWGRAVE-GRAHAM, ESQ., F.S.A., M.I.E.E.[1]

[*Read 8th November 1951*]

THE well-known paper on the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England by Sir William St. John Hope (*Archaeologia*, lx, 1907) is a splendid documentary and factual source of information about the effigies themselves. Comparatively little, however, is known about their homes throughout the ages, though it is on record that after the funeral of Elizabeth of York in 1503 her 'pikture' was 'had to a secret place by St. Edward's shrine'. Henry Keepe, writing in 1682, shows that they were then in the upper part of the Islip Chapel, and this is corroborated by J. T. Smith's amusing account of a conversation between Nollekens the sculptor and an abbey verger named Catling in 1786.

> *Nollekens*: '. . . and she [i.e. Mrs. Nollekens] wants to know what you've done with the wooden figures with wax [*sic*] masks, all in silk tatters, that the Westminster boys called the Ragged Regiment; she says they was always carried before the corpse formerly?'
>
> *Catling*: 'Why, we had them all out the other day for John Carter and young Smith to draw from; they are put up in those very narrow closets between our wax figures of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Chatham in his robes, in Bishop Islip's Chapel where you have seen the stained glass of a boy slipping down a tree, a slip of a tree and the eye slipping out of its socket.'
>
> *Nollekens*: 'What! Where the Poll-parrot is? I wonder they keep such stuff . . . I don't mind going to Mrs. Salmon's Wax-work in Fleet Street, where Mother Shipton gives you a kick as you are going out. Oh dear, you should not have such rubbish in the Abbey!'

John Carter's interesting drawing, described by him as 'finished on the spot, 1786' and now in the Muniment Room, shows the effigies in Henry V's Chantry with the King's Achievements on the floor, but they cannot have been carried laboriously up the worn and narrow vices in the turrets, or hoisted over the ledge, for the special benefit of Carter. He must have combined their pictures with one of the chantry, causing confusion in future history. An engraving of 1872 in the Muniment Room (pl. XLVII, *a*) shows that the effigies were then still in a cupboard in the Upper Islip Chapel. It was in the abbey, likewise, that they were exhibited to an important meeting of our society in 1907, on the occasion of the paper already cited. Mr. L. E. Tanner is the only living fellow who was present.

Their delicate condition even then was the reason for not showing them in the society's rooms, a fact having some bearing upon recent ill-informed criticism of the decision to keep them in the abbey precincts during the late war. Between the wars the earlier effigies were placed in protective cases in the Undercroft Museum. In the recent war they were in a place relied upon as mechanically safe, and amid almost incredible achievements by the abbey authorities and staff in the protection of treasures, the precautions were reasonable. In view of the delicate state of the heads and bodies more transport would have been risky.

---

[1] After the author's death this paper was prepared for publication by Mr. Martin Holmes, F.S.A. The illustrations are from the author's own photographs.

Their injury resulted from the invasion of water from above during the air-raid of May 1941, when an incendiary bomb fired two bays of the library, and the Undercroft was flooded to a depth of about a foot. Their saturation was complete before the close of the war, and through a period of eight and a half years nothing could be attempted by a reduced staff confronted with urgent and vital problems. This disaster forced drastic measures which led to very unexpected results and initiated a new phase in their existence. Many remember them before the war as dingy and rather macabre full-length people. Yet injured and blackened by age as they were, they evoked moving mental pictures of the magnificent ceremonies in which they had played a spectacular part, and though some seemed little more than symbols of ancient splendour, one or two retained visible dignity and character.

The first work was the cleaning and reparation of Anne of Bohemia's head, after which attention was turned to the gruesome heap in the Undercroft. The prospect was daunting, but permission was obtained and I am greatly indebted for the interest taken in the work by the late Sir Charles Peers and by the Keeper of the Muniments, whose continual encouragement and support helped to carry me through frequent crises when progress seemed hopeless.

The body-parts of two effigies had disintegrated to a mass of wet hay, rotten canvas, and broken plaster; a detached wooden leg of James I lay in front amid displaced remnants of stockings and rotten scraps of other garments. Nail-rust and the perishing of glue had separated wooden parts, and one of the only two original noses left before the war had gone. Great care was exercised in the replacement of noses where any guidance availed, and the form was often partly dictated by the remaining basis or root, or part of a nostril still in place.

For different reasons Anne of Bohemia and Anne of Denmark both escaped the Undercroft disaster, and though the former was the first to be treated, the series will be dealt with in chronological order.

EDWARD III

Edward's effigy, made by Stephen Hadley in 1377, is the earliest of those remaining. In the old photographs the nose is intact, but in 1949 the plaster head, based on wood, was in a terrible state (pl. XLVII, *b*). A considerable part of the nose and large areas of plaster about the head and the right side of the face had gone completely, and showed a mottled white surface of wood looking like exposed brain, so that during treatment the exposed body, the small surgical instruments on the bench, and the white overalls of the operators occasionally shocked unprepared visitors to the Muniment Room with their horrid suggestion.

Almost the whole of the face was detached like a mask, which, indeed, subsequent discoveries proved it to be. Across the circumference of the chin there was a gash terminating in a tunnel with plaster and linen protruding. This cavity had to be packed with a solidifying paste and the lost areas were made up with plastic wood on a cellulose film. Cleaning revealed, beneath the thick and obdurate coal-black dirt deposited during centuries, coloured cheeks, eyes, and lips, and a very dark band of colour over the head, chin, and sides of the face, where there had been a wig, beard, and whiskers (pl. XLVII, *c*).

The removal to drier conditions began a long struggle against disintegration. The shrinkage of the wooden core caused plaster and paint to split off and peel, and the whole mask was so detached that solution injected near the eye oozed out at the chin. I will not weary you by reading the full account of this, but will mention that the stabilizing fluid was fed in through 160 small holes, and that the kneading process for spreading it beneath the surface often required hours. In all this the vital part of the face retained its shape perfectly. As it became a growing conviction that the bronze tomb-effigy was based upon the funeral one, a new nose was modelled on the bronze as nearly as possible.

The dark colour, where the hair had been, seems to be some sort of adhesive and occurs on other effigies, and there are also wig-nails by which hair or a fabric holding hair was fixed. Tiny golden-brown hairs, too small for close examination, give a clue to the king's hair-colour, but seven very fine eyebrow hairs released by the cleaning were found by Dr. H. S. Holden of the Forensic Laboratory, New Scotland Yard, to be hairs of a little dog.[1]

Presently I became aware of a curious asymmetry in the mouth and a somewhat dead and flattened appearance about the left eye (pl. XLVII, *d*). In May 1950 our fellow, Mr. Martin Holmes, saw this and made the remarkable suggestion that the face might be a death-mask, showing, in the down-drawn twist on the left side of the mouth, the final paralysis caused by the stroke which deprived Edward of speech in that last scene of desertion when Alice Perrers robbed the body. Is it too fanciful to suggest that this uncanny appearance may have added fear of demoniac possession to contempt for the degradation of later years, causing all about him to flee except one priest?

The *Chronicon Angliae* contains a full account of the king's ending, with a melancholy and moving description of his last speechless day and of the signs of contrition made by him in response to the one faithful priest who remained with him. I quote a few words from an excellent translation made for me by Miss Helen Rawlings:

> He gathered all his strength for utterance which was broken by a sob arising from the weakness of his body and said 'Miserere Jesu'. And with this last word he concluded all his words.

Dr. Macdonald Critchley, Neurologist to the National Hospital, Queen's Square, tells me that in cases of speech-paralysis due to cerebral haemorrhage a brief ejaculation is often possible under stress of great emotion. The outcome of examination and discussion was that the faces of Edward III and Henry VII are actual death-masks and the others highly competent and beautiful sculptures in wood with death-masks from face-moulds as models, and that Edward's facial distortion was probably a record of paralysis, the left eye and side of the face being abnormal. The strata in the plaster, the linen, and the condition of the chin are all fully accounted for by the technique used in making the mask.

---

[1] In two sets of accounts for the 'picture' of James I there are charges for 'Periwiggs, Beardes and eybrows'.

To sum up from available evidence, the procedure was generally as follows:

1. The urgent task of taking a negative mould from the dead face up to a line well forward from the ears by including the main features. This line was not successfully obliterated in most death-masks.

2. While the effigy-makers rushed their work forward, the body was opened and the viscera and other parts removed, sometimes for independent burial elsewhere. After a short period of exposure which may have been ceremonial, the body was embalmed and cered or enclosed in lead and coffined.

3. When the effigy had been made, painted to resemble life, provided with human hair, and robed it was probably laid on a bed of state (as were the French kings and the duke of Albemarle) with elaborate ceremonial and the chanting of masses by great churchmen. Almost incredible quantities of candles were burned and the coffin was present with the effigy. The bed of state in England may have been similar to the final 'herse', and in the accounts for the funeral of Elizabeth of York the magnificent structures in St. John's Chapel in the tower and in the abbey itself are both called 'herses'.

4. The coffin and the representation were carried with solemn pomp to the burial church, where again they lay in state with dirges, offerings, and other rites (see St. John Hope, *op. cit.*).

5. After the burial the effigy was handed over to the monks of the religious house concerned.

THE EFFIGY

Little need be added as to the making of the Westminster effigies. Apart from the two death-masks the method was to carve in wood a portrait head with more or less of the body, using a death-mask as the model. This was the opinion of Sir Henry Hake and Mr. Bedford,[1] and I always hoped that evidence would be found to support it. This last and most important link has been supplied quite recently by our fellow, John Harvey, who has produced another valuable record relating to Anne of Bohemia and not quoted by St. John Hope.

The account is for one Roger Elys, tallow-chandler of London, and contains full details of elaborate and splendid wax 'herses' and their furniture, showing the outstanding importance of the contribution made by medieval tallow-chandlers to the magnificence of the funeral rites. At Anne's funeral the body or the coffin or both were cered with cloth and wax, and other expenses were incurred in the burial. One of these was the making of a 'persona', the classic word for a mask, and it is possible to couple the phrase 'as is the custom', which follows it, either with the making of the mask or with the previous burial expenses. If it were linked with the work of Elys on the mask, this would be confirmed as an established practice. To quote Mr. Harvey's own words:

> Evidently the provision of immensely costly waxwork for state and noble funerals was a special branch of tallow-chandling, and a compartment of that specialization would be the provision of death-masks.

---

[1] Sir Henry's first remark, on coming to see the effigies, was 'These are *real people*!'

The artists generally suppressed with greater or less success the wrinkles and irregularities due to the pressure of the mould or to post-mortem changes, though we have seen that this was not done with Edward and was less successful with Katherine of Valois than with Elizabeth of York.

The ears of the wooden effigies show high artistic skill, and in the case of Anne of Bohemia (pl. XLVIII, *a*) we were mistaken in our early view that their great merit could be traced to the ample time available to the artist because of the long interval between her death and her funeral. The postponement of the funeral would delay the lying-in-state, and the record shows the making of the effigy within ten days, though the period actually employed was doubtless much less. Evidence of the urgency of such work in later years is found in the account for the making of Elizabeth of York's image, the joiners receiving fourpence for a whole day's work and eightpence for a whole night. The ears of this figure likewise are beautifully cut.

The plaster ears of Henry VII are crude, and ears are omitted from the head of Edward III as they would be hidden by the face-hair.

Elizabeth of York's hair was hired for five shillings, but it may be that this was a temporary wig. By the time of the funeral of James I, wigs, beards, and eyebrows are charged for in the accounts as purchases, and there is no mention of hire.

Edward III, Elizabeth of York, and Henry VII all had small pieces of fibrous vegetable matter adhering to the backs of their heads. This fibre was identified by Dr. H. S. Holden as the so-called Sea-Grass (*Zostera marina*), a material with a long record of use for stuffing cushions and pillows, and sometimes still used for this purpose today. There are records of gorgeous cushions, however, for the effigies, and it is difficult to see how the stuffing of pillows got out and adhered tightly to the heads unless the whole make-up of wig, head, and cushion was glued together to prevent awkward displacement during the passage of the funeral chariot over rough roads. Perhaps the sea-grass belonged to the bed of state, and was the counterpart of the straw used in France.

THE BASIS OF THE TOMB EFFIGIES

The final use, either of the effigy or of the death-mask, was usually as a model for the maker of the tomb effigy, for we cannot imagine the craftsman in marble or bronze failing to make use of a magnificent and authentic portrait available in the care of the monks in the very church where the tomb was to be erected. The degree of idealization and artistic stylism would depend upon the preponderance of the craftsman's powers and inclinations as a copyist or as a sensitive artist.

ANNE OF BOHEMIA

Returning to the individual effigies, the next in date is that of Anne of Bohemia. Her oaken head, bodiless as far back as records go, was in safety during the late war. It was nearly black, with a dim suggestion of eyes, and the base of the lost nose was raggedly splintered and spongy, though there was enough nostril left for valuable guidance (pl. XLVIII, *b*, *c*). The indurated dirt required prolonged treatment. We know the dark brown colour of the queen's hair from a small tuft imprisoned in the bent wig-nail on the head. Dr. Holden finds it is human.

Her height we may conjecture in a curious way. In the course of the war we acquired a bone labelled, in old ink in an eighteenth-century type of handwriting: 'Arm bone of Richard II'. A physician's opinion on it, however, confirmed and extended by the measurements and X-ray photographs taken by Professor J. D. Boyd of the London Hospital Medical School, was that it was the right humerus of a young woman somewhat over 25 years of age and about 5 ft. 3 in. in height. The king's arm-bones are not in fact missing from the tomb, but one of Anne's would seem to have been extracted when boys removed bones from a hole in the masonry in the eighteenth century. Anne was 28 when she died, so there is every likelihood that the bone is hers, and its replacement in the tomb would seem desirable from more than one point of view.

There is of course resemblance between this head (pl. XLVIII, *d*) and that of the bronze by Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest that surmounts the tomb, but their work is of inferior character, and it is rather surprising that Richard passed it. His head and hers are very large indeed, and out of proportion to the heights of the figures unless he was very short, which the historians indicate that he was not. Correct proportions are not maintained in her face unless the much more credible and very beautiful wooden effigy is wrong. Even so, it was probably the model for the later sculptors, little as they would seem to have availed themselves of it.

KATHERINE OF VALOIS

Next in order comes the French consort of Henry V. This is a pathetic and petite figure carved from a single piece of wood and very drastically hollowed. A deep circular groove round the head was made for the crown to fit over the wig (pl. XLIX, *a*), and nails round the edge held fabric, of which I recovered a minute scrap, identified as red regular-warp satin.

This is the only early effigy wholly of wood, and it is curious that although it was to be gorgeously robed it is carved with drapery-folds representing an undergarment, painted red up to a line well below the neck, where the thickness of the garment is indicated in the carving. Dr. Holden reports on the very few remaining hairs as human and brown. Only the top of the nose had been knocked off, so there was small choice of form for the renewal (pl. XLIX, *a*, *b*).

Katherine's pathetic face shows clearer signs of derivation from a death-mask than do the other carved heads. The mouth is small and the eyelids are heavy. Apart from the artist's poor success in escaping from post-mortem appearances, the dead face has beauty as well as pathos (pl. XLIX, *c*).

ELIZABETH OF YORK

The special interest of this effigy is in its detailed correspondence with the account in the Lord Chamberlain's records. This and the charges for the 'herses' at the Tower of London and in the abbey are supplemented by a manuscript in the College of Arms describing the funeral pageantry.

The queen died in the Tower on the 11th of February 1502/3. Services were conducted by bishops on three successive days and on the tenth day the corpse was carried to Westminster Abbey on a chariot drawn by six horses draped in black velvet. The splendour of the effigy is recorded thus:

> . . . a ymage or psonage lyke a quene / clothed in y^e^ very robes of estate of y^e^ quene having her very ryche crowne on her hed her here about her shoulder / hir scepter in her right hand / and her fyngers well garneshed w^t^ ryngs of golde and p^r^syous stones and on every end of y^e^ chayre on y^e^ cofres kneled a gentelman hussher by all the way to Westminster.

The corpse was censed, removed from the chariot with the image and the banners of Our Lady, and with great folk bearing them these were 'w^t^ the procession conveyd to the herce'. There were further ceremonies, and then 'the Image w^t^ the crowne and the riche robes were had to a secret place by St. Edward's Shryne'.

The first items in the effigy account, for 'two waynscotts called Regall' and for 'oon waynscot borde', relate to materials obviously used in making up the head and bust. There follow 'ij pece of peretre tymbre' and these, being only eightpence, were quite small. The report of the Forest Products Research Laboratory on a small piece of the remaining hand as being of pear wood identifies the item as the 'pear-tree timber' for the hands.

Next come the charges for day and night work, proving the urgency in the preparation of these effigies. There are small charges for glue and nails, but the next two are of the greatest interest:

Item to Mr. Lawrence for kerving of the hedde with Fredrik his mate	13/4
Item to Wechon Kerve^r^ and hans van hoof for kerving of the twoo hand^s^	

The excitement of recovering the remaining hand, detached and hanging in the damp debris by a shred of fabric, was very great, as its delicate beauty had been most attractive in the old photographs. Wechon the Carver and Hans van Hoof may prove important craftsmen. Can they be connected with the stone effigies of Henry VII's Chapel, which are surely very foreign in character?

We come now to an item for 'oon hole pece of Sipers', price 3*s*. 4*d*. Now the bust and the arms down to the wrists were covered with unpleasant-looking fabric of dirty grey with a shimmer of yellow, and this, when cleaned, was found to be exquisite golden satin, the origin of which is still under discussion.

In 1949 the effigy was nearly black and the nose was gone; the 'wainscot' boards of which it was built were separated except in rather small areas, the saucer-like disc forming the back of the head being entirely detached (pl. L, *a*). The bones or stiffenings of body and legs were long poles of rough fir-wood with crude feet nailed on at the bottom. The rough hoop below the bust remained intact (pl. L, *b*, *c*), but the hay-stuffed lower body and legs had completely disintegrated, and the whole effigy from the beautiful bust downwards was a mere support for the draping of the robes, except of course for the finely finished hands. The poles had to be cut off. In the remaining arm we have the first use of a movable joint to facilitate dressing. The joint is at the elbow, and the dainty attitude of the hand shows that it held nothing (XLIX, *e*). The other hand would have held the sceptre.

The record of rings of gold and precious stones makes the discovery of ear-ring holes in the ears very fascinating. One hole, being a little too large for a tight fit, had been packed with a substance like old decayed wax. The minute samples of hair recovered showed nothing well defined under the microscope. The excellent portraiture of the queen agrees well with the portrait in the National Portrait Gallery, but there is about the face a pleasant and slightly roguish or boy-like air in sharp contrast with the rather death-like pathos of Katherine (pl. L, *c*, *d*).

HENRY VII

The old photographs show a body formed with the utmost care but cracked and handless, with one or two rents, some loss at the heels, and the nose quite gone. The top of the head looked almost like a detachable skull-cap. The form of the face suggested craftsmanship of high quality, which has led to the surmise that it was the work of Torrigiani or at least of an Italian, and St. John Hope characterized it as 'Renaissance'. Henry died at Richmond in 1509 on 21 April, and the splendour of his funeral was most impressive, 'The King's Pyctour' costing £6. 12*s*. 8*d*. apart from its robes.

The condition of the actual 'pyctour' in the Undercroft after the war was terribly discouraging, as flakes of paint could be blown off with the breath, and the whole colour, even of the flakes, was a uniform dark grey (pl. LI, *c*). The body had entirely disintegrated into a mere confused heap of plaster, canvas, hay, and wood (pl. LI, *a*). This alarming condition tempted me to keep the head and bust untouched rather than to risk further injury by treatment, but I was strongly encouraged by Mr. Tanner and preservation was begun. The wooden frame, cleared of hay, was moved to the library; the heap of debris was searched bit by bit, and though saturated with moisture, and containing here and there maggots and woodlice, it released a pungent dust which added to the difficulties.

Twelve well-defined plants in the hay were sorted and submitted to Dr. Margaret Brett, to whom we are greatly indebted for her careful and detailed report which shows us that the plants included spring clover blossoms and autumn vetch pods in seed, with fragments of bedding straw, all showing that it was fodder, and perhaps from the royal stables at Westminster or Windsor (pl. LI, *b*).

The various difficulties in reconstruction of the bust and the stabilization of the disintegrating head may be apparent on seeing the photographs taken at different stages. The rounded top of the head was found to be an almost hemispherical, fragile cap, so loose that it could be moved like a scalp (pl. LI, *d*). Here the plaster was weak and spongy, and it seemed that the hair of the effigy had been secured by laying it round the head and spreading this plaster layer to secure it at the edges, the plaster cap itself being afterwards hidden by the cap of estate and the crown.

In the first instance a new nose was secured with the help of casts taken from Torrigiani's bronze effigy on the king's tomb, but when in position it looked curiously unsuitable to the face. By the kindness of Mr. H. D. Molesworth of the Victoria and

Albert Museum a careful study was therefore made of the fine Italian terra-cotta portrait head in that collection (pl. LII, *a*). Facial measurements agreed closely with our death-mask, which justified the making of another nose from templates. It could not be a facsimile, as the remaining basis was slightly narrower, perhaps because of the king's greater age, the changes following death, and the pressure of the plaster used by the moulder. The Kensington nose, moreover, looks unduly heavy, but it is remarkable that the final nose looked more in keeping with the face than did the too long and slender one modelled on Torrigiani's bronze (pl. LII, *b*). Both artists missed, incidentally, the pleasant little dimple in the king's chin, which is recorded in the mask.

The face of the effigy was uniformly dark grey, making it seem possible that the colour of a dead face was intended, even the detached flakes being grey throughout (pl. LII, *c*). I will not detain you over the delicate work of bedding down the loose paint except to say that some very small raw and injured areas were repaired and coloured, the new plaster round the neck was painted and the black on the head and bust was renewed where lost. The hair is a mixture of bright red and grey, and is human. It occurs to me as barely possible that it comes from the king's head. He had a fine mass of it at the time the Victoria and Albert Museum bust was made. In any case, it is yet another instance of the extreme care used to obtain true portraiture.

Comments have been made on the Welsh character of the face, and one visitor to the library, on seeing it without explanation of its identity, said bluntly, 'Who's your Welsh miner?' As we now see it this head, authentic in form and painting, shows an open, bold, and commanding face entirely without the crafty and unpleasant expression seen in many inferior portraits (pl. LII, *d*).

ANNE OF DENMARK (pl. LIII, *b*, *c*)

In 1907 this fine head and bust had remains of the body and one arm. The remaining portion of importance was in safety during the war. Of its curious method of construction, its terribly wormed interior, its treatment for worm in 1905, the interesting nose-repair by its makers, and its more recent precautionary immersion in the British Museum gas chamber by the kindness of Dr. Plenderleith, I cannot say much here. More than 250 worm-holes in the front were filled and the filling touched out with paint, the total area so made up being not more than one and a half square inches for face, neck, and breast. Except for a few small surfaces of bare and dark wood, notably a hideous stripe on the ridge of the nose, the colour is authentic on the face, but somewhat more mended on the breast.

The cleaning revealed a finish of utmost delicacy and beauty in colour and texture, and it was startling to find that in this magnificent portrait, well agreeing with the picture in the National Portrait Gallery and the one so kindly lent by our fellow, Mr. Clifford Smith, the craftsman has shown with subtle skill the blue veins in the temples, near the eyes, and on the breast, and has even carved a pimple on the left cheek. The veins almost seem to lie just beneath semi-transparent skin.

What more is needed to demonstrate the intention to make these images literal and life-like portraits, not of dead monarchs but of the former living and normal people?

MARY TUDOR

There remain the late and featureless wooden bodies of James I and Henry, Prince of Wales, and the effigy of Mary Tudor, about which little need be said. All are described by St. John Hope.

The accurate care to make every detail truthful appears in the thin, slightly bandy legs of James I, and in the painful reproduction of the swollen condition belonging to the final illness of Mary Tudor. The body of her effigy is solid, and with the solid plaster head must have been inconveniently heavy for carrying.

The old photographs show much injury to chin, cheeks, and nose, and the lost parts have been made up at some time with plaster. Sufficient likeness remains for identification, but the head is a poor piece of work apparently made to serve the purpose of a funeral effigy well enough to pass at a distance. It was decided to leave this rather dubious little head as it was after cleaning (pl. LIII, *a*).

HENRY III AND ALIANORE OF CASTILE

The close connexion between death-mask, funeral effigy, and permanent tomb-figure in the examples we have considered may justify a brief study of the element of portraiture in the beautiful effigies by William Torel which surmount the tombs of Henry III and Alianore of Castile. I have never believed that Torel entirely invented the extraordinary and fascinating face of the bronze effigy of Henry, which is surely intensely individual and less conventional than the usual contemporary carvings of kings with which it has been classed.

If there were some available portrait of the dead king, can we imagine either his successor Edward or Torel lacking all interest in the making of a portrait-effigy from it? Again, in view of French and later English practice, and the new knowledge about Edward III and the others, it is surely probable that the funeral effigy was a death-mask or was modelled from one, that it had been preserved and was available, and that it was used as the basis for Torel's sculpture.

The argument of the late William Burges, R.A., in *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, is one which I quite fail to understand. The account is made out 'Willielmo Torel factori imaginis de cupro ad similitudinem Regis Henrici'. Out of this Burges extracts the statement that 'Torel made a statue, not of Henry III but of a king', but his assumption carries little weight in view of the fact that the account for Stephen Hadley's funeral effigy of Edward III has precisely the same words, 'ad similitudinem Regis' and refers in this instance to the figure based on the death-mask, a portrait of the most authoritative kind. There are also arguments relating to age and the treatment of the eyes and noses in the cases of Henry and Alianore which are common conventionalities, but since the eyes of a death-mask always require hand-carving or modelling to show them as open, the peculiarities could originate either in the work of the craftsman who made the funeral effigy or in the legitimate but limited stylization used by Torel himself. He has not made the apparent age of Henry wildly incompatible with his real age of sixty-five, and we must remember too that the weight of the plaster in making a death-mask tends to smooth out face-lines, as do the changes immediately following death.

Much of this applies equally to Alianore. Torel, working from a mask or some kind of portrait, would have been aided by his own memories of the living lady, and may, like the modern photographer, have softened the facial lines and emphasized beauty and youth.

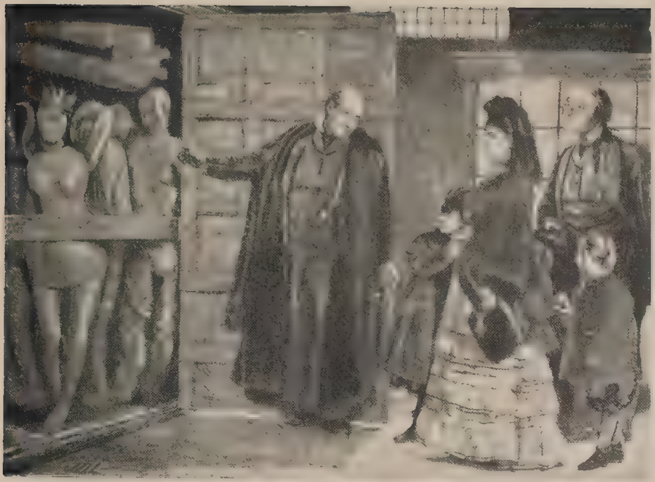
Whatever of theory and conjecture may survive further investigation, we have a unique group of newly revealed royal portraits which ushers in the beautiful series in wax, and the fresh facts as to their artistic genesis show them to be fascinating combinations of realism and artistic skill. If we may include the two superb bronzes by Torel and the marble corbel in the North Transept as newly accepted claimants, we have now gained eight royal portraits of the highest authenticity. Each has its own individual beauty, and all are most moving in their intimate associations with our national history and the human and religious pageantry of the past.

NOTE: A word may be said here as to the methods adopted in the reparations.

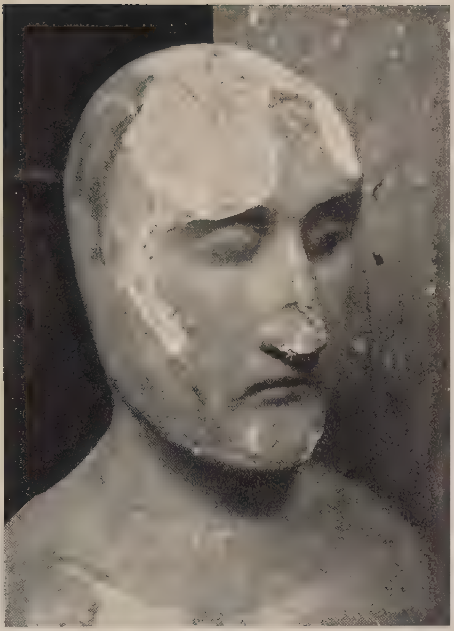
In general, all replacements of lost plaster and colour have been extremely conservative; the lost areas on Edward III, and all the noses, were coloured to harmonize with the rest of the faces, but were left with a surface which could not deceive a person making careful examination. Small areas of surface-injury, holes made for injection and filled, and the stoppings of worm-holes, were coloured to match their surroundings.

Special care was taken in the highly necessary completion of the painted eyeballs where the black paint had partly flaked. The eyeballs, left with the centre partly flaked away, looked vague or even sinister, and one or two lips were most unpleasantly crooked without recolouring of small denuded places. Only a small fraction of the whole area of colour, however, is not original. In short, there is no restoration in the bad sense, and the heads are authentic.

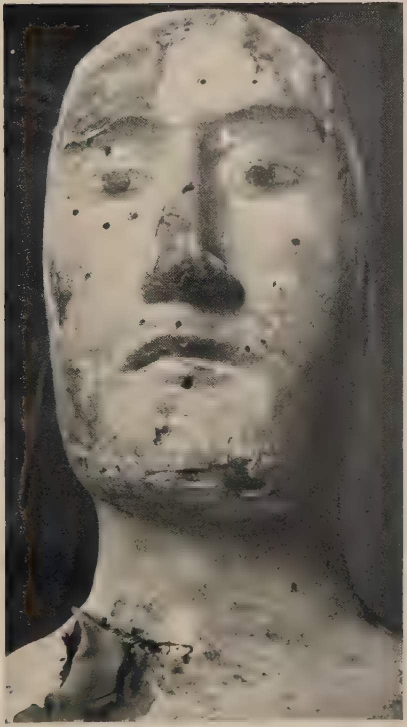
A diary covering the whole work is in the abbey library.



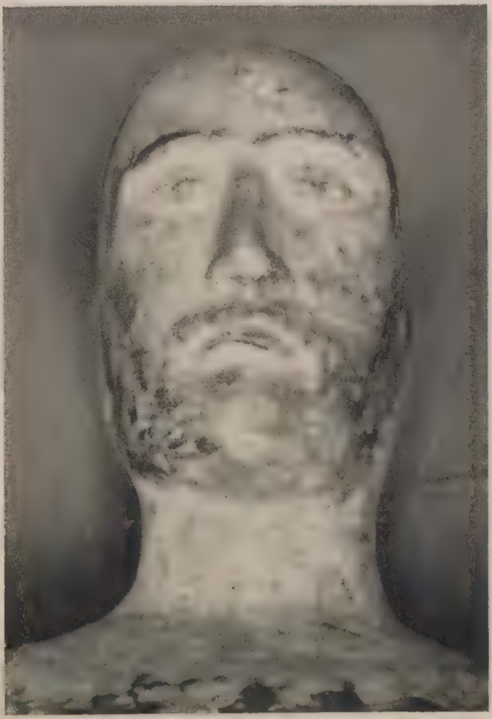
a. The 'Ragged Regiment'



b. Head of Edward III before treatment.

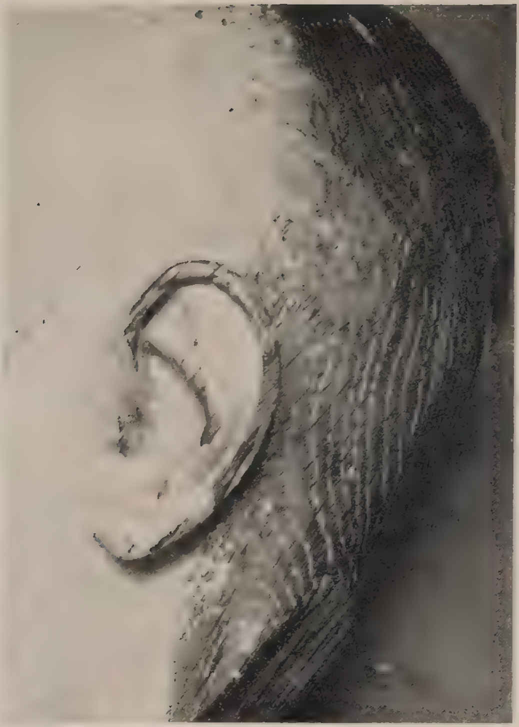


c. Edward III undergoing treatment, showing paint and injection-holes

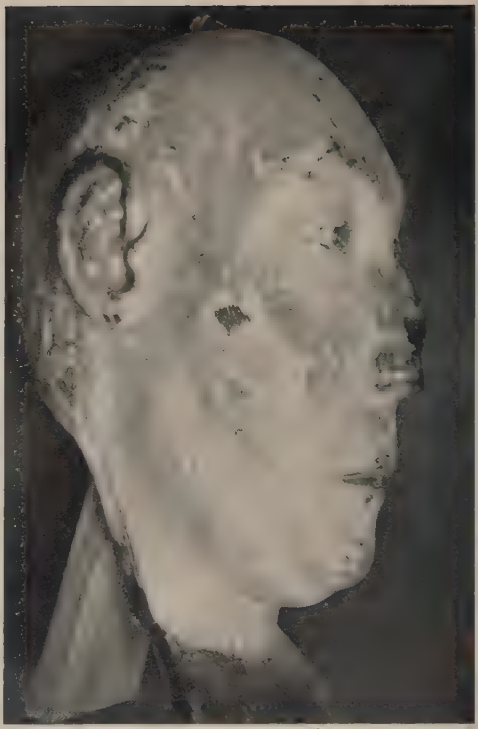


d. Edward III after treatment, showing distortion of the mouth

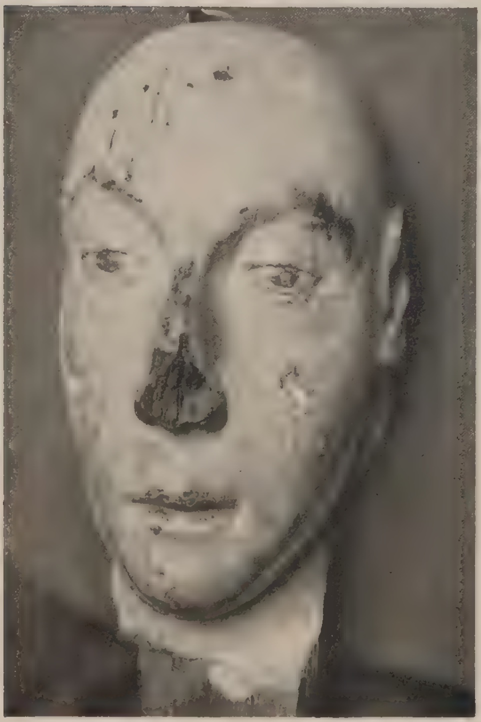
PLATE XLVIII



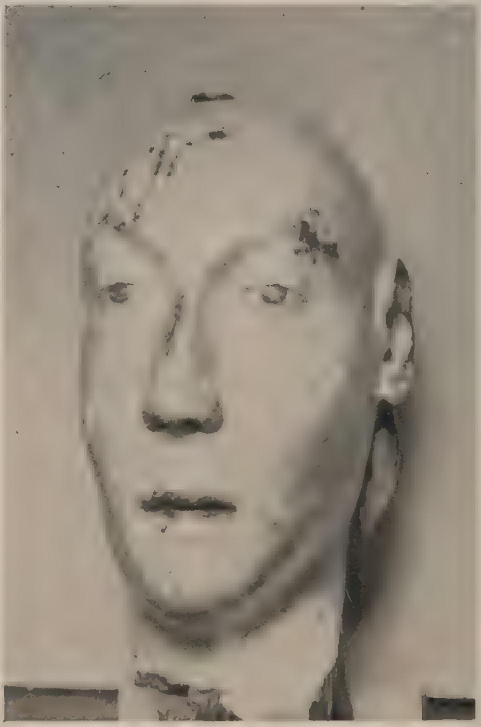
a. Ear of Anne of Bohemia after cleaning



b. Anne of Bohemia; head before treatment

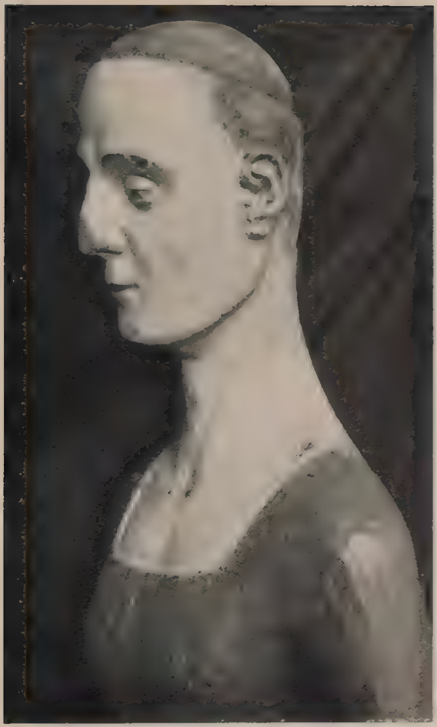


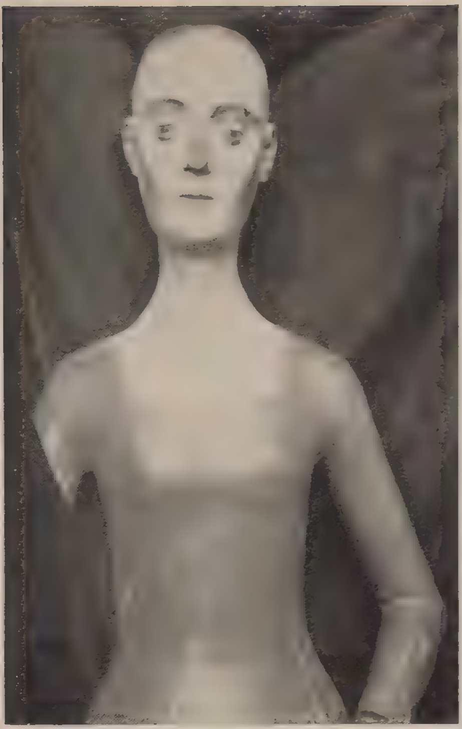
c. Anne of Bohemia: head after cleaning but before renewal of nose

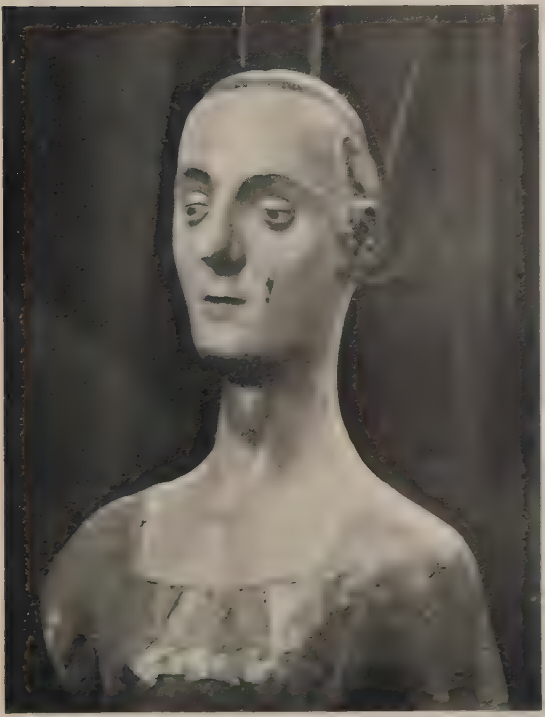


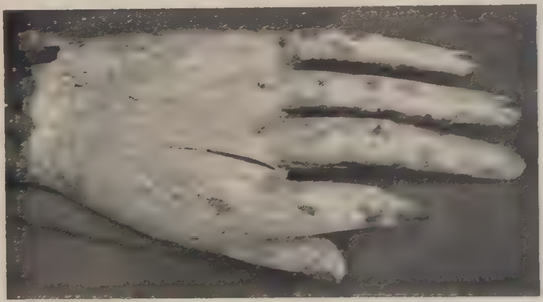
d. Anne of Bohemia after cleaning and repair

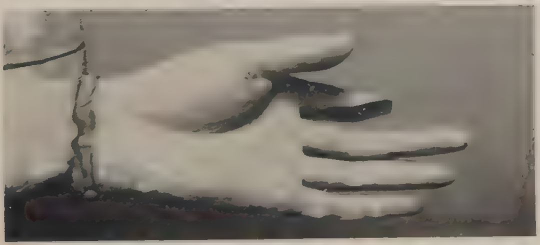
PLATE XLIX

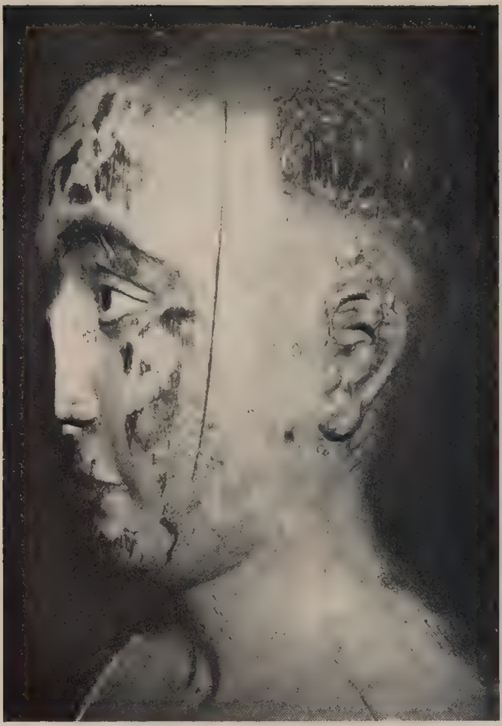

a. Katherine of Valois, showing groove made for the crown


b. Katherine of Valois, cleaned but not rebuilt

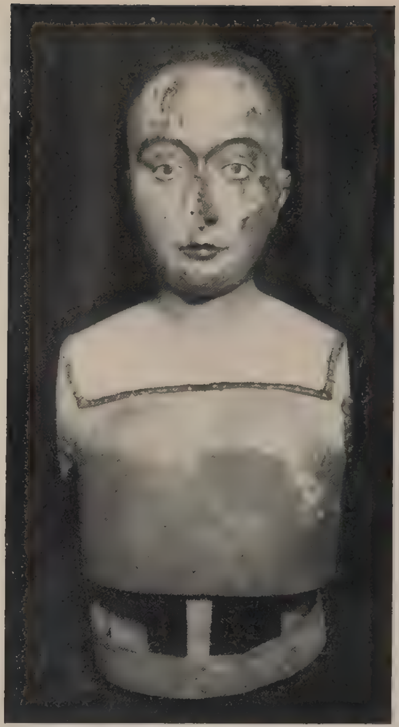

c. Katherine of Valois cleaned and restored


d. Left hand of Elizabeth of York before treatment

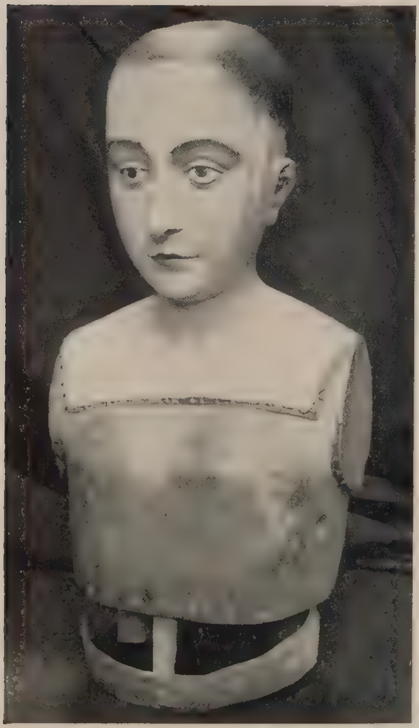

e. Hand of Elizabeth of York cleaned



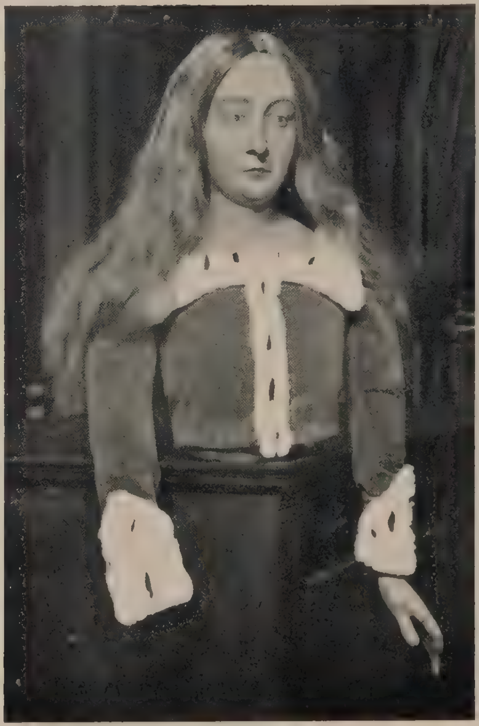
a. Head of Elizabeth of York before treatment



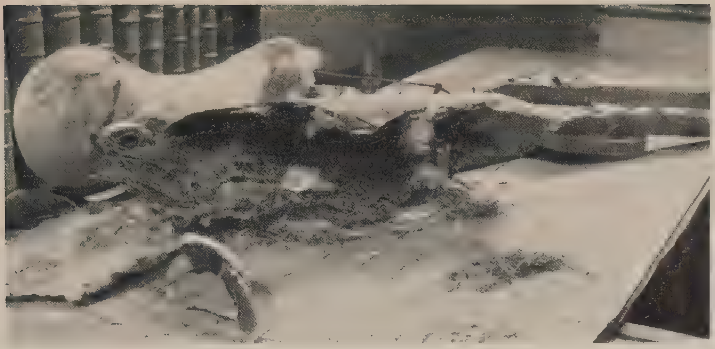
b. Head and bust of Elizabeth of York undergoing treatment



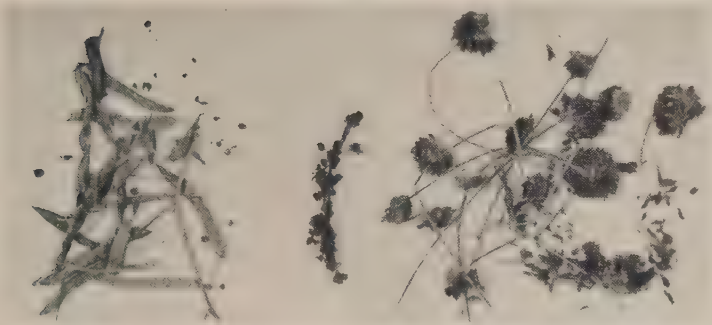
c. Head and bust of Elizabeth of York, cleaned and repaired



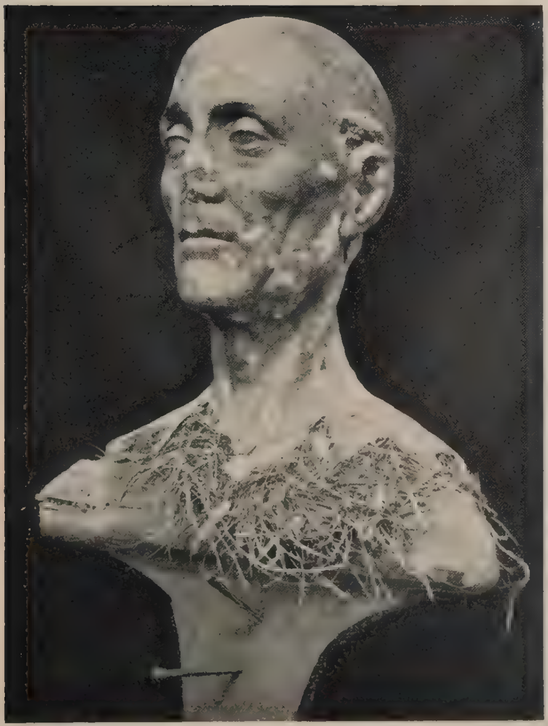
d. Head and bust of Elizabeth of York in modern wig and bodice



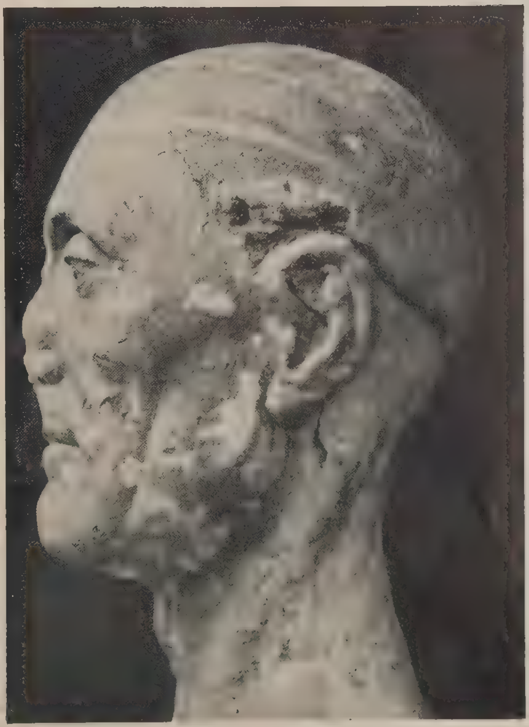
a. Disintegrating effigy of Henry VII



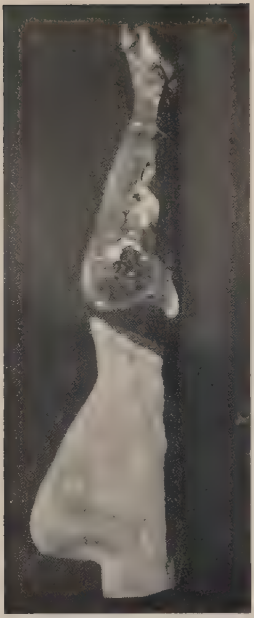
b. Flowers found among the hay stuffing of the effigy of Henry VII



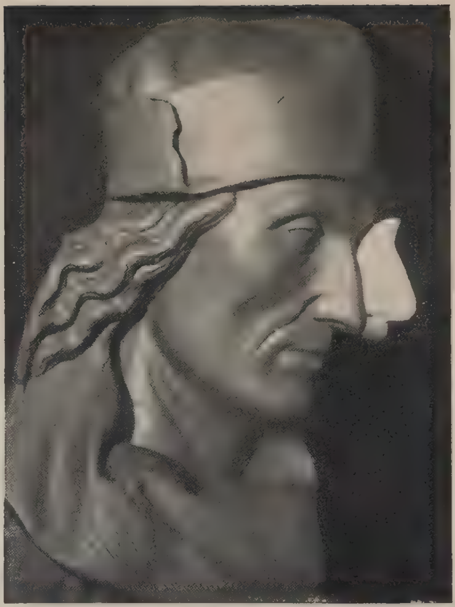
c. State of the head of Henry VII before treatment



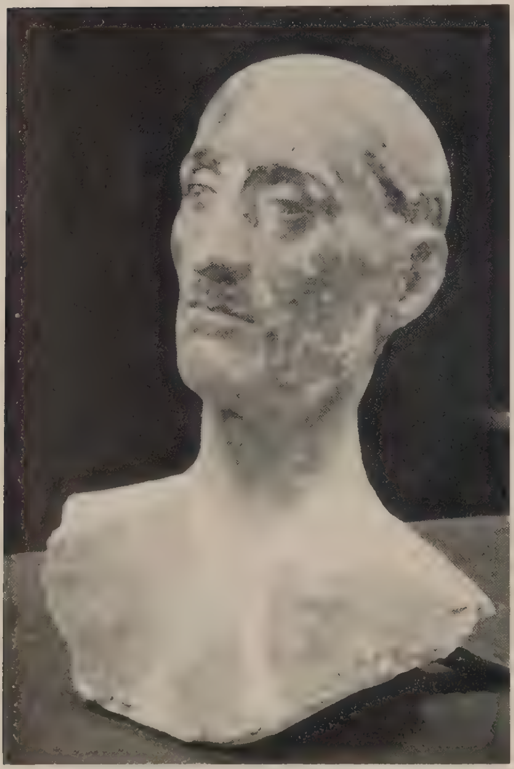
d. Profile of Henry VII before treatment



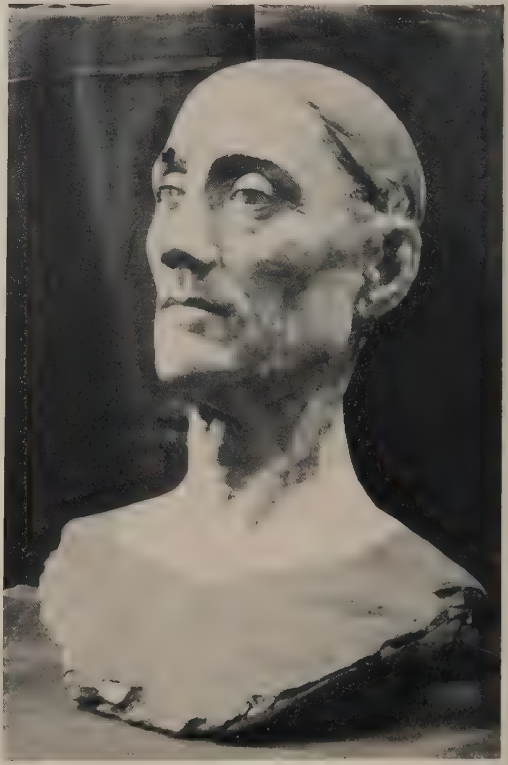
a. Nose of Henry VII from (above) bronze effigy by Torrigiani and (below) terra-cotta bust in the Victoria and Albert Museum



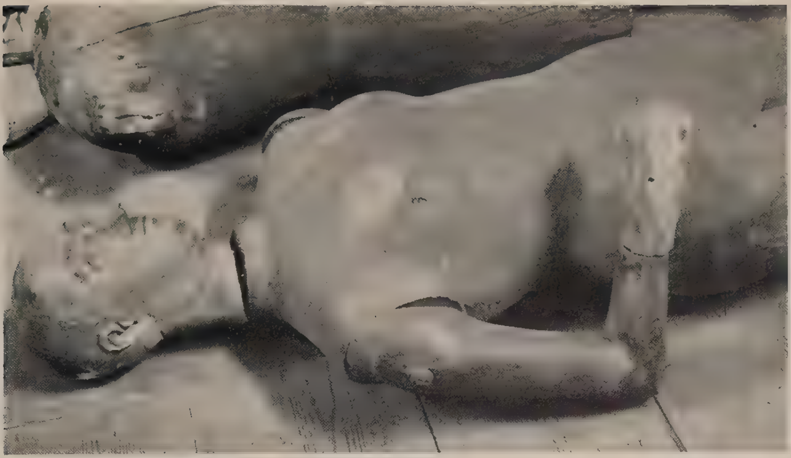
b. Comparison of the two noses in relation to the face



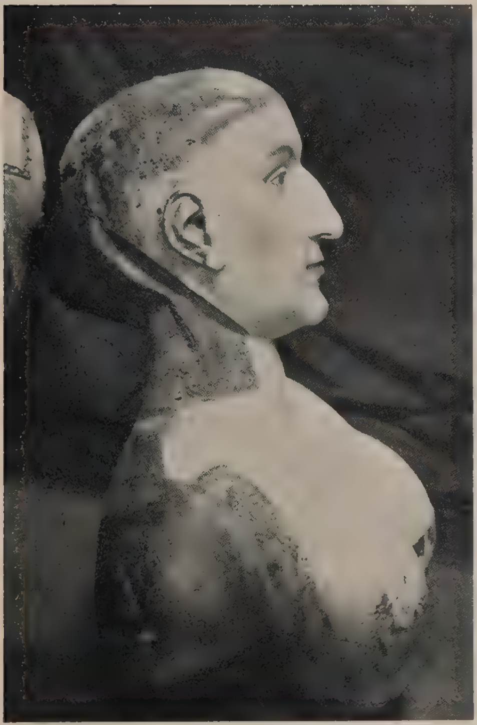
c. Head of Henry VII in process of treatment



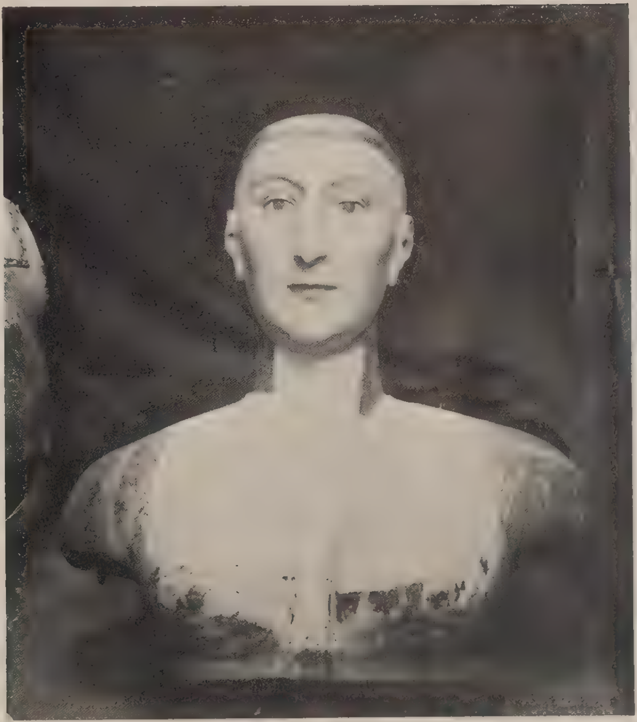
d. Head of Henry VII after treatment



a. Head of Mary Tudor before removal from body



b. Head and bust of Anne of Denmark; profile



c. Head of Anne of Denmark, full face

INDEX TO VOLUME XCVIII

Aalburg (Holland), sword from R. Meuse at, 134, 139, 157.
Abba, sword mentioned in will of, 140 *n.*
Åberg, Nils, cited, on metalwork with animal decoration, 29, 53, 65, 69.
Abingdon (Berks.): brooch from, 46 n.; sword-hilt (formerly the Wallingford Sword) from, 104, 129, 153; Tree of Jesse ceiling in St. Helen's church, 15 *n.*
Aelle, Ælla, or Ehlla, King of S. Saxons: Bretwaldership of, 46, 47; ring of, 95.
Agerskov (Jutland), brooch from, 66.
Ahlstan, finger-ring of, 105, 107, 108.
Albemarle, George Monck, 1st duke of, funeral effigy of, 162.
Albert of Bavaria, letter from Richard II to, 27.
Alcobaca (Portugal), chalice from, 91.
Alföldi, Andreas, on Roman helmets, cited, 59.
Alfred, King of Wessex: coins of, 109, 110, 112, 113, 118; jewel of, 95, 107, 144, 154.
Alfriston (Sussex): belt-plates from, 47, 69; brooch from, 39, 41, 42, 47, 48, 52; associated objects, 39; buckle from, 35–36, 41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 60; mount from, 36.
Alianore, *see* Eleanor of Castile.
Alleberg (Sweden), gold collar from, 67.
Alwalton (Hunts.), buckle from, 54.
Amesbury (Wilts.), finger-ring from, 50.
Aner, E., cited, on chamber-graves of Haithabu, 130.
Animal Ornament: Jutish style A, 29–74 *passim*; Trewhiddle style, 76–122 *passim*. Appliqué, 38, 42; confronted or back-turned in pairs, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 39, 42, 56 *n.*, 57, 58, 59, 60, 65, 67, 69, 70, 71; couchant, 35, 36, 37, 38, 42, 43, 66, 67; 'fur' pattern, 35, 36, 43, 57, 65, 67, 71; grazing, 39; gripping-beast, 129, 134, 136, 153, 157; heads only, 36, 37, 39, 42, 46, 49, 50 *n.*, 140, 151; processions or friezes of, 32, 33, 42, 44, 55, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62–63, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71; ribbon, 145, 146; S-shaped, 132, 137, 155; spread-eagled, 144; symmetrical placing of, 42, 57, 59, 71. Bipeds with tails or snake-like, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151; boars, 70, 71, 147; deer, 50; dog- or hound-like, 31, 43, 55, 58, 66; dolphins, 50, 53, 64; hare-like, 33, 38, 42, 43, 55, 58; hippocamps, 32, 33, 36, 42, 55, 64; horse-like and horse-heads, 31, 36, 37, 42, 43, 46, 50 *n.*, 54, 64; lions, 58, 59, 141; rat-like, 156; wolf, 145.
Anne of Bohemia, Queen of Richard II: arms of, 6 *n.*; rosemary badge of, 10; depicted, with Richard II, offering Britain to the Virgin, 20; engraving of, 20; death mask and other funeral ceremonies of, 162, 163–4; arm-bone probably of, 164; funeral effigy of, 160; head from funeral effigy of, 160, 163, 164; modelling of ears of effigy, 163; tomb-effigy of, 164.
Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I: funeral effigy of, 160, 167; portraits of, 167.
Anstee, J. W., experiments in pattern-welding, 128.
Antiquaries, Society of, Trewhiddle hoard exhibited to and published by, 75.
Antum (Holland), sword wrongly attributed to, 134.
Arbman, H., cited: on filigree, 146, 147; on pendants, 94; on swords, 130, 134.
Ardagh (Limerick): brooch from, 99; chalice, 90 *n.*, 146, 149, 150, 153.
Armour: funeral helms in Cobham church, 14 *n.*; form of helm and shield used in the Wilton Diptych, 13 *n.* *See also* Helmets *and* Swords.
Armring, from Welbsleben, 104.
Arundel, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, devotion to the Virgin urged by, 20.
Ashmolean Museum, *see* Oxford.
Athelstan, King, coins of, 110.

Ballinaby (Islay): rim binding from, 87; silver chain found in grave at, 93.
Barcelona (Spain), figure of Archangel Raphael above entrance to Town Hall, 22 *n.*–23 *n.*
Barrington (Cambs.), strap-ends from Malton Farm, 97.
Barton (Cambs.), bowl escutcheons, 53.
Beagmund, moneyer, 118.
Beakers, Germanic, found in Scandinavian graves, 63.
Beaufort Hours: collars worn by figures depicted in Annunciation, 15; type of hair-cut seen in, 11.
Beauvais (Somme), bucket from, 60.
Beeston Tor (Staffs.): brooch from, 143; coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108.
Bell shrine, of St. Cuillean, 144.
Belt-fittings: repoussé technique, 61; Alfriston, 69; Cursley Hill, Bishopstone, 37, 38, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 55; High Down, 36, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, 64; Howletts, 38, 42, 48, 65; from Trewhiddle, 85. *See also* Buckles.
Benty Grange (Derbyshire), bowl-escutcheons, 53.
Beornwulf, King of Mercia, coins of, 109, 110, 111, 117.
Beowulf, swords described in, 126.
Berhtwulf, King of Mercia, coins of, 109, 112, 114, 115, 117.
Biarnmod, moneyer, 118.
Bidford-on-Avon (Warwicks.), bucket-mounts from, 38, 42, 46, 60, 69, 100.
Bifrons (Kent): brooches from, 46, 53, 69, 70; buckles from, 50 *n.*, 60; knife-handle from, 55 *n.*; pendants from, 32, 41, 42, 43, 48, 70; strap-end, 34, 35, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 53, 70.
Biornmod, moneyer, 118.
Bird forms: used in Jutish style A decoration, 31, 32, 39; pecking vine-scroll, 60; birds of prey, 39; doves, 31, 32, 41, 54, 64; birds' heads, 140, 141; bird-headed snakes, 141, 144; Trewhiddle style, 79, 105.

Birka (Sweden): disc from, 150; pendants from cemetery at, 94, 98; silver fragment from, 147; sword from, 134 *n.*, 136 *n.*, 139.

Biruni, cited, on Viking swords, 128.

Bishopstone (Bucks.), bell-plate from Cursley Hill, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 55.

Black inlay: analysis of, 144; used for sword decoration, 125, 136, 137, 144, 156, 157.

Blaise Castle (Somerset), strap-end from, 120.

Bledlow (Bucks.), strap-end from, 120.

Blewburton Hill (Berks.), buckle from, 50 *n.*

Blunt, C. E., *see* Wilson, D. M.

Bologna (Italy), ring from, 96, 143.

Book-markers, possible use for strap-ends, 97.

Borage, perhaps depicted on Wilton Diptych, 22 *n.*

Borgund (Norway), brooch from, 67.

Bosses: Ribchester, 152; Steeple Bumpstead, 144.

Bourgh, William, glazier, 8.

Bowl-escutcheons, spiral and zoomorphic decoration on, 53, 144.

Bracken, depicted on Wilton Diptych, 22 *n.*

Bracteates: 68, 149; Dödevi, 66; Gerete, 66; Gotland, 149; Lyngby, 66; Sandegaard, 66.

Bradewardyn, William, surgeon to Richard II, 13.

Bradwell (Essex): buckle from, 50 *n.*; strap-ends from, 120.

Braybrook, Sir Reginald, funeral helm of, 14 *n.*

Bremen (Germany), sword from R. Weser near, 139.

Brett, Dr. Margaret, on Henry VII's effigy, cited, 166.

Brid, moneyer, 118.

Brighthampton (Oxon.): scabbard-chape from, 39, 46, 69; associated objects, 40.

Britain, painting depicting the offering of, to the Virgin by Richard II and Anne of Bohemia, 20.

British Museum, Trewhiddle hoard presented to, 75.

Broadstairs (Kent), buckle from, 60.

Broadway (Worcs.), buckle from, 50 *n.*

Brocket:
  Edward, son of Sir John, property bequeathed to, 26.
  Helen (Lytton), wife of Sir John, 26.
  Helen or Ellen, *see* Spencer.
  Sir John, will of, 26.
  Margaret, 2nd wife of Sir John, 26.

Broker, Nicholas, and Godfrey Prest: coppersmiths, 8 *n.*; bronze effigy of Anne of Bohemia by, 164.

Brokjaer (Jutland), beaker fragment from, 62, 63.

Brøndsted, Prof. J., on Trewhiddle style, cited, 99, 100, 101, 105.

Bronze: objects cut from sheet bronze, 37–38; objects inlaid with sheet silver, 33–37.

Brooches: cruciform, 67; disc and quoit, 41–44, 52, 53, 64; cloisonné disc brooches, 51; penannular brooches, 52–53; plate brooches, 64; 'relief' brooches, 65–66, 67; repoussé technique, 61; square-headed, 68; tortoise, 145. Abingdon, 46 *n.*; Agerskov, 66; Alfriston, 39, 41, 42, 47, 48, 52; Ardagh, 99; Beeston Tor, 143; Bifrons, 46, 53, 69, 70; Borgund, 67; Caerwent, 53; Cambridge (St. John's Cricket Field), 70; Canterbury, 156, (King's School), 95, 100, 153; co. Cavan, 95; Croydon, 46 *n.*; Faversham, 33–34, 35, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 54, 100, 149; Frilford, 46 *n.*; Fuller, 97, 105, 143; Galsted, 67; Hasselt, 148; Higham, 34–35, 41, 42, 44, 46, 54, 59; High Down, 37, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 48, 53; Hillesøy, 141, 143; Hol, 66; Holmgaard, 66; Hon, 150, 151; Howletts, 31–32, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 54, 56 *n.*, 60, 66, 70; Hunterston, 150; Igelösa, 105; Indre Bö, 67; Killarney, 99; Killucan, 99; Kirkoswald, 94, 95, 102, 151, 152; Langlo, 66, 67; London, 50; Lyminge, 39, 40, 47, 48, 52; Milton-next-Sittingbourne, 69; Mosnaes, 95, 152; Muizen-les-Malines (Brabant), 156; Nedrebö, 148; Nordheim, 65; Ragley Park, 71; Richborough, 53; Risely, 46, 47 *n.*; Sarre, 30–31, 32, 35, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 54, 57, 58, 66, 68, 69, 70; Scania, 67; Staurnes, 67; Strickland, 94, 105, 141, 143, 144, 148, 151; Suffolk, 69; Szilágy Somlyó, 57 *n.*, 59; Tara, 93, 96, 99; Telemark, 62; Thuringia, 48; Towneley, 147; Tralee, 99; Trewhiddle, 84, 86, 98–99; Vedstrup, 67; Wittenham, Long, 70.

Broom-cods and broom-plants: use of as badges, 7, 8–9, 15, 23; collars of, 8–9, 20 *n.*, 22, 23.

Broomfield (Essex), possible drinking-horn from barrow at, 88 *n.*

Brounker or Brouncker:
  Anne, daughter of Sir William, *see* Jenyngs.
  Joan, daughter of Henry, *see* Jenyngs.
  Martha (Mildmay), wife of Sir William, 25.
  Mary, granddaughter of Sir Walter Mildmay, 25.

Brown, Prof. Baldwin, cited on metalwork with animal decoration, 29, 34, 35, 53.

Bruce-Mitford, R. L. S.: excavations at Mawgan Porth by, 117; cited, on pendants, 94, 95.

Brunswick (Germany), casket in Museum at, ornament on, 141, 145.

Buckets and mounts from: Frankish, with vine-scroll and arcading decoration, 60; imported, 68. Beauvais, 60; Bidford-on-Avon, 38, 42, 46, 60, 69, 100; Buire sur l'Ancre, 60; Croydon, 36, 46; Faversham, 47; Howletts, 47; Marchélepot, 60; Miannay, 60.

Buckles (including loops, plates, etc.): discussion of dating and distribution of late Roman and Anglo-Saxon, 50, 55. Alfriston, 35–36, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 60; Alwalton, 54; Bifrons, 50 *n.*, 60; Blewburton Hill, 50 *n.*; Bradwell, 50 *n.*; Broadstairs, 60; Broadway, 50 *n.*; Caerwent, 50 *n.*; Chester, 65 *n.*; Cirencester, 50 *n.*; Colchester, 50 *n.*; Crundale, 148, 150; W. Dean, 50 *n.*; Dorchester (Oxon.), 50 *n.*, 54; Envermeu, 60; Éprave, 60; Faversham, 49 *n.*, 149, 150; Gestingthorpe, 50 *n.*; High Down, 34, 36, 41, 42, 46, 48, 49, 53, 60; Icklingham (Mitchell's Hill), 70; Kärlich, 60; Lullingstone, 50 *n.*; Lydney, 50 *n.*; Normée 'La Coulisse', 60; Richborough, 50 *n.*, 56 *n.*; Silchester, 50 *n.*; Spoonley Wood, 50 *n.*; Stratford, 50 *n.*; Sutton Hoo, 97 *n.*; Taplow, 149; Trewhiddle, 85, 98; Waternewton, 50 *n.*; N. Wraxall, 50 *n.* *See also* Belt-fittings.

Budapest (Hungary), helmet, 59.

Buire-sur-l'Ancre (Somme), bucket from, 60.

Bulbeck:
  Dorothy, *see* Jenyngs.
  Elizabeth (Wake), wife of John, 27.
  John, father of Thomas, 27.
  Thomas, estate of, 26.
  Ursula (Gray), wife of Thomas, 27.

Burford (Oxon.), strap-end from, 121.
Burge (Sweden), sword from, 134 *n.*, 139.
Burges, William, on effigy of Henry III, cited, 168.
Burghead (Moray), mount from: dome-shaped rivets used on, 80; ornament of, 104; probable purpose of, 87, 88.
Burgred, King of Mercia, coins of, 109, 110, 112, 114, 118.
Burnwald, moneyer, 117, 118.
Burwell (Cambs.), possible drinking-horn from, 88.
Buxtehude (Germany), swords from, 132, 134, 139.

Caerwent (Mon.): brooch from, 53; buckle from, 50 *n.*
Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk), pot from, 71.
Cambridge (Cambs.): brooch from St. John's Cricket Field, 70; strap-end from, 121.
Canterbury (Kent): Germanic settlement in, 51; metal workshop in region of, 71; Roman prototypes of later metalwork perhaps found in, 54; brooch from, 156; pewter chalice from, 90 *n.*, 91; brooch found at King's School, 95, 100, 153; coin possibly from mint at, 114; coin of Offa struck at, 152. *See also under* Manuscripts.
Carlisle (Cumberland), sword from Westmorland in Tullie House Museum, 104 *n.*
Carnuntum friezes, 59.
Carter, John, funeral effigies drawn by, 159.
Casket in British Museum, 104, 108. *See also* Brunswick.
Castor (Northants.): bronze strip from, 156; strap-end from, 121.
Catling, verger of Westminster Abbey, 159.
Cavan, co. (Ireland), brooch from, 95.
Ceolnoth, Abp. of Canterbury, coins of, 109, 110, 113, 118.
Ceolwulf I, King of Mercia, coins of, 109, 111, 112, 114, 117.
Chains, early Christian types of, 23, 93.
Chalices, Early: absence of English examples, 88–89; documentary references to, 90; illustrated in manuscripts, 90; use of wooden chalices forbidden, 90. Associated with: St. Chrodegand de Seez, 91, 92; St. Cuthbert, 90 *n.*; Bp. Eberhard of Bamberg, 91; St. Ludger, 92; Abp. Poppo of Trier, 91; Tassilo (Kremsmünster), 90, 91, 92, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 134, 142, 155, 156. From: Alcobaca, 91; Ardagh, 90 *n.*, 146, 149, 150, 153; Canterbury (pewter), 90 *n.*, 91; Hazleton (lead), 90; Hexham (bronze), 90, 91, 92; Kremsmünster, *see* Tassilo *above*; Petöhäza, 90, 91; Reading (pewter), 89 *n.*; St. Martin des Champs, 90, 91, 92, 156; Skara, 91, 92; Trewhiddle, 75, 81–82, 88–92.
Charlemagne, Emperor, coin of Offa copied for, 152.
Charles I, King: catalogue of pictures belonging to, 2; portrait of, by Jan Lievens, 2; Wilton Diptych acquired by, 2, 25.
Charles VI of France: gifts of collars of broom-cods to Richard II and others, 9; gifts from Richard II to, 10 *n.*
Charlton, Dr. G., bronze grave-chalice belonging to, 90.
Chatham, Lord, wax figure of, 159.
Chelsea, *see* Thames, River, at.
Chessell Down (I. of Wight): cemetery, 45–46; strap-end, 37, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 54, 64; associated objects, 37, 48.
Chester (Cheshire), buckle-plates with cross patterns from Deanery Fields, 65 *n.*
Christ: represented as a Child on the Wilton Diptych, 21–22; with crown of thorns and nails, 22.
Chrodegand de Seez, St., chalice associated with, 91, 92.
Cirencester (Glos.), buckle from, 50 *n.*
Claringbull, Dr., black inlay and niello analysed by, 137, 144.
Clarke, Miss Maud, analysis of heraldic data of the Wilton Diptych by, 1.
Cnut, coins of, 110.
Cobham (Kent), funeral helms in church at, 14 *n.*
Coenwulf, King of Mercia, coins of, 109, 112, 114, 117.
Coggeshall (Essex), gold ring from, 147.
Coins: *see* Bracteates, Sceattas, Stycas. Hoards of, containing metalwork, 107–8. Cnut, 110; Offa, 109, 111, 112, 117, 152, 153, 154, copied for Charlemagne, 152. Trewhiddle: 75, 76, 107, 109–19; abbreviations, 119; collections and sales, 119; composition of hoard, 109; details of coins, 109–16; historical background, 116–17; history of coins, 117–19. *See also under* individual names *and* Moneyers.
Colchester (Essex), buckles from, 50 *n.*
Coldingham (Berwicks.), strap-end from, 121.
Collars: Alleberg, 67; Mone, 67. *See also under* Broom-cods.
Combe:
  Peter, sacrist of Westminster Abbey, 12.
  Taylor, cited, on Trewhiddle coins, 111–15.
Compere, Jehan, goldsmith, 9 *n.*
Copper, used for eyes of animals on High Down belt-slide, 41.
Coswick, strap-end from, 121.
Cotton Vespasian A1, *see under* Manuscripts.
Cowlam (Yorks.), strap-end from, 121.
Crediton (Devon), bishop's see at, 117.
Cricklade (Wilts.), strap-end from, 104, 105, 121.
Critchley, Dr. Macdonald, on stroke suffered by Edward III, cited, 161.
Crosses: St. Cuthbert's pectoral, 99; of Edward the Confessor, now lost, 107; Rupert Cross, 102.
Croy (Inverness), chain found in hoard from, 93.
Croydon (Surrey): brooch from, 46 *n.*; bucket from, 36, 42, 46; tubular object from, 36, 42, 43, 46, 49.
Crozier: Bp. Flambard's, 107; Kells, 144.
Crundale (Kent), buckle from, 148, 150.
Cuerdale (Lancs.): coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108, 113; silver chains in hoard from, 93; strap-end from, 121.
Cuff Sale of Coins, 111.
Cuillean, St., bell shrine of, 144.
Cursley Hill, *see* Bishopstone (Bucks.).
Cuthbert, St.: contents of coffin of, 107; silver altar of, 152; chalice belonging to, 90 *n.*; pectoral cross of, 99.

Daisies or marguerites, depicted on Wilton Diptych, 22 *n.*
Dalbeattie (Kircudbrights.), fragments of moulds from Rockcliffe, 99 *n.*

Dean, W. (Wilts.), buckle from villa, 50 *n*.
Death-masks: known as 'persona', 162; used as models for tomb-effigies, 163, 168. Anne of Bohemia, 162; Edward III, 161, 163, 168; Henry III, 168–9; Henry VII, 161, 167; Katherine of Valois, 163, 164.
Delgany (co. Wicklow), coin hoard from, 110, 111.
Deneheah, moneyer, 115, 117.
Déu, Jordí de, sculptor, 23 *n*.
Diormod, moneyer, 112.
Dödevi (Sweden), bracteate from, 66.
Dolven (Norway), sword-handle from, 104, 105, 153.
Donnington, Margaret, *see* Kitson.
Doort, Abraham Vander, Charles I's pictures catalogued by, 2.
Dorchester (Dorset), finger-ring from, 147, 151.
Dorchester (Oxon.), buckle from, 50 *n*., 54.
Dorestad (Holland): strap-end, 101, 102; sword from, 139.
Dorking (Surrey), coin hoard from, 112.
Drinking-horns: examples found in England, 88; Burghead mount perhaps from, 87, 88; Trewhiddle mounts perhaps from, 86–88.
Dublin (Eire), sword from, 145.
Dunning, G. C., and Miss Vera I. Evison, 'The Palace of Westminster Sword' by, 123–58.
Dunreay (Caithness), strap-end from Reay Links, 121.
Dunun, moneyer, 118.
Dymchurch (Kent), strap-end from, 121.

Eadred, coins of, 110.
Eanbald, moneyer, 112, 117.
Eanred, King: discussion of identity of, 113–16; coins of, 109, 113–16, 119.
Eanwulf, moneyer, 117.
Ear-rings, basket-shaped, brought from S. Russia to Gotland, 147.
Eberhard, Bp. of Bamberg, chalice of, 91.
Ecgberht, King of Wessex, coins of, 109, 112, 115, 116, 118.
Echternach (Luxembourg), *see* Manuscripts.
Edelred, coins of, 110.
Edgar, son of Edmund, coins of, 110, 111.
Edmund, St.: depicted on Wilton Diptych, 21.
Edmund, son of Edward, coins of, 110, 111.
Edmund Ironside, coins of, 110.
Edward the Confessor, arms of, 1, 5–6, 7, 8, 9; figure of, on Wilton Diptych, 21; coins of, 110; cross of, now lost, 107.
Edward the Elder, coins of, 110.
Edward II: attempts to obtain canonization for, 16, 17, 18; tomb of, 17.
Edward III, King: arms of, 5; death-mask of, 161, 163, 168; funeral effigy of, 160–2, 163; ears omitted from, 163; signs of stroke in death-mask, 161.
'Effigies, The Earlier Royal Funeral', by R. P. Howgrave-Graham, 159–69; used as models for tomb-effigies, 163; damage by water during air-raid, 160.
Eketorp (Sweden), jewel from, 149.
Eleanor (Alianore) of Castile, Queen of Henry III, effigy of, 168–9.
Eligius, St., moneyer and jeweller, 153.
Elizabeth I, Queen, wax figure of, 159.
Elizabeth of York, Queen: funeral ceremonies in St. John's Chapel, Tower of London, 162, 165; and at Westminster Abbey, 162, 165; accounts of expenses for, 165; funeral effigy of, 159, 162, 163, 164–6, carving of hands, 165, modelling of ears of, 163, ear-ring holes in, 166, hair hired for, 163.
Eltham Palace (S.E. London), glass windows made for, 7, 8.
Elys, Roger, tallow-chandler, account for waxwork for funerals, 162.
Engelbert, gem. Norddijk (Holland), sword wrongly attributed to, 136 *n*.
Envermeu (Seine Inférieure), buckle from, 60.
Éprave (Belgium), buckle from, 60.
Esenhughgruppe (Amrum, W. Germany), sword from, 139.
Esthonia, *see* Kunlepa.
Ethelberht (or Æthelbert), coins of, 112.
Ethelhere, moneyer, 118.
Ethelmod, moneyer, 118.
Ethelred I (or Æthelred), King of Wessex, coins of, 109, 110, 111, 112, 118.
Ethelswith, ring of, 96, 107.
Ethelwald, moneyer, 119.
Ethelwulf (or Æthelwulf), King of Wessex, coins of, 109, 110, 112, 115, 118; ring of, 96, 105, 107.
Ethilwald, seal of, 107.
Evison, Miss Vera I: cited, on inlaid metalwork, 29, 30, 49, 51–52, 54, 55, 60; *see also* Dunning, G. C.
Exeter Book, wind horn described in, 87 *n*.

Faversham (Kent): brooch from, 33–34, 35, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 54, 100, 149; bucket from, 47; buckles from, 49 *n*., 149, 150; cemetery, 48; possible drinking-horn from, 88; escutcheons and prints from, 53; ring from, 151 *n*.
Featherstonehaugh, Rev. W., bronze grave-chalice bought by, 90.
Fejø (Denmark), cup, 105.
Felixstowe (Suffolk) (?), strap-ends from, 121.
Filigree ornament: 146–54; on Fetter Lane sword, 140; on Trewhiddle pendant and elsewhere, 94–96; on Windsor sword pommel, 146.
Finberg, Dr. H. P. R., cited, on Cornish history, 116–17.
Finglesham (Kent), pottery bottle found at, 48.
Fjaere (Aust Agder, Norway), strap-end from Kroken, 121.
Flambard, Bp. of Durham, crozier and ring of, 107.
Flowers and plants found in Wilton Diptych, 10, 16, 22–23.
Foliage ornament: 154, 156; fleur-de-lis motif, 150, 151, 152, 153; 'tree of life' motif, 148, 152; on swords, 125, 130, 135, 140, 142, 143, 144.
Forget-me-not, perhaps depicted on Wilton Diptych, 22 *n*.
Foss (Vest Agder), brooch from, 64.
Franbald, moneyer, 113, 118.
France-Lanord, A., cited, on pattern welding, 128.
Francisca plate, from Howletts, 38.
'Fredrik', *see* Lawrence, 'Mr.'.
Frilford (Berks.), brooch from, 46 *n*.
Fuller brooch, The, 97, 105, 143.

Galsted (Schleswig), brooch from, 67.

Garnets, used in decoration, 132, 149.
Gammertingen, helmet, 60.
Gävle (Sweden), sword from, 134 *n.*
Geoffrey of Anjou, broom-plant badge of, 23.
George, St.: perhaps represented in painting, 20; symbolic standard of, 21.
Gerete (Gotland), bracteate from, 66.
Germanic Animal Art, *see* 'Jutish Style A'.
Gestingthorpe (Essex), buckle from, 50 *n.*
Gjessing, Gutorm, cited, on Viking swords, 129.
Glass, used as decoration: discs, Alfriston buckle (green), 35, 41, 49; *en cabochon*: 41, 54, 60, 61, 152; Bifrons pendants (blue), 32, 41; Faversham brooch (blue), 34, 41; High Down buckle (red), 36, 41.
Glasyer, Geoffrey, windows made for Eltham Palace by, 7.
Glenluce Sands (Wigtowns.), strap-ends from, 121.
Gloucester (Glos.): Edward II's tomb at, flanked by piers painted with white harts, 17; strap-end from George St., 97 *n.*
Godmeston, John, clerk of works at Westminster Hall, 5 *n.*
Goldsborough (Yorks.), strap-end from, 121.
Golofre, Sir John, brass of, 7 *n.*
Gorhambury (Herts.): property of Ralph Rowlett, 3 *n.*, 4; formerly the property of Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, 4.
Gotzlow (Germany), sword from R. Oder near, 139.
Gratian, Emperor, medallion of, 59.
Gray:
  Robert, will of, 27.
  Ursula, *see* Bulbeck.
Grey, *see* Gray.
Grønneberg (Norway), sword from, 104, 153.
Guildford (Surrey), bequest to St. Nicholas church, 25.
Guildown (Surrey), ring from, 49.
Gültingen (Germary), helmet with vine-scroll from, 60.
Guthrum-Athelstan, King of E. Anglia, coins of, 113.

Hadley, Stephen, Edward III's funeral effigy made by, 160, 168.
Håheim (Norway): sword from, 133, 134, 139; axe associated with, 134.
Haillot (Belgium), strap-end from, 49 *n.*
Haithabu (Schleswig, Germany) : strap-end from, 122; sword from, 130, 132.
Hake, Sir Henry, on funeral effigies, cited, 162.
Halle (Norway), sword from, 132, 133, 139.
Halstock (Dorset), strap-end from, 121.
Halton Moor (Lancs.), coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108.
Harvey, John H.: 'The Wilton Diptych—A Re-examination,' by, 1–28; on waxwork for funeral effigies, cited, 162.
Haseloff, Prof., cited: on brooches and pendants, 95, 151; on Tassilo chalice, 90, 101, 155.
Hasselt (Belgium), brooch from, 148.
Hauge (Norway), filigree ornament found at, 95.
Hauxton Mill (Cambs.), strap-ends from, 106, 121.
Hawberk, Sir Nicholas, funeral helm of, 14 *n.*
Hawkes, Mrs. Sonia Chadwick, 'The Jutish Style A', by, 29–74.
Hawkins:
  Edward, cited, on coins from Trewhiddle, 114, 116.
  J. H., bowl from R. Witham at Lincoln in possession of, 152.
Hay, used for stuffing Henry VII's funeral effigy, 166.
Hazleton (Glos.), lead funerary chalice from, 90.
Hedeby (Schleswig), sword from, 139.
Helmets: vine-scroll ornament on, 60. Budapest, 59; Gammertingen, 60; Gültingen, 60; Morken, 60; Petersburg, 59, 65; Stössen, 60; Sutton Hoo, 143.
Hemmoor (Germany), Roman vessels found at, 61.
Hennah, Rev. R., coins in possession of, 109.
Henry III, King: death-mask of, 168–9; funeral effigy of, 168–9; tomb-effigy of, 168–9.
Henry IV, King: arms of France Modern on Great Seal of, 13; broom badge used by, 8, 9, 23; eagle badge of, 5.
Henry V, collars of broom-cods belonging to, 23.
Henry VII, King: death-mask of, 161, 167; funeral effigy of, 163, 166–7; modelling of ears of funeral effigy, 163; bronze tomb-effigy of, 166–7; terracotta portrait head of, 167.
Henry, Prince of Wales (son of James I), funeral effigy of, 168.
Heraldry:
  Royal Arms: Edward the Confessor, 1, 5–6, 7, 8, 9; Edward III, 5; Richard II, 1, 5, 6, 7, 8; Anne of Bohemia, 6 *n.*; Henry IV, 13.
  Badges: Broom-cods or broom-plants, 7, 8–9, 15, 20 *n.*, 22, 23; Eagle, 5, 15, 23; White Hart, 1, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23; White Hind, 16; Rosemary, 10.
Herebright of Cologne, painter, of London, 11 *n.*
Herland, Hugh, carpenter at Westminster Hall, 5 *n.*
Herpály (Hungary), shield boss from, 59, 61.
Hexham (Northumb.): coin hoard and metalwork from, 108, 146; bronze grave-chalice from, 90, 91, 92.
Higham (Kent): disc brooch from, 34–35, 41, 42, 44, 46, 54, 59; finds from, 48.
High Down (Sussex): belt slide from, 36–37, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 54, 55, 64; annular brooch from, 47, 53; small-long brooch from, 37; quoit brooch from, 39, 40, 41, 46, associated objects, 39; buckle, 34, 36, 41, 42, 46, 48, 49, 53, 60; iron knife, spearhead, and purse-mount from, 36.
Hillesøy (Norway), disc from, 141, 143.
Himlingøje (Denmark), Roman vessels in Sjaelland chieftains' graves at, 61, 62, 63.
Hippocamps, representations of, 32, 33, 36, 42, 55, 64.
Hoccleve, Thomas, represented with Prince Henry in *De Regimine Principium*, 4 *n.*, 15.
Hohensaathen (Germany), sword from, 139.
Hol (Norway), brooch from, 66. *See also* Steinsvik.
Holand, Thomas de, earl of Kent, seal of, 16 *n.*
Holden, Dr. H. S., on Royal Funeral Effigies, cited, 161, 163, 164.
Holland, reliquary from, 154.
Holmes, Martin: paper on Funeral Effigies prepared for publication by, 159; face of Edward III's funeral effigy thought to be a death-mask by, 161.
Holmgaard (Denmark), brooch from, 66.
Holmquist, Dr. Wilhelm, cited: on Scandinavian art, 63–65, 67; on Gotland discs, 149; on filigree, 146; on sheet and wire inlaid metalwork, 51.
Holywell Row (Cambs.), strap-ends from, 97 *n.*

Hon (Norway): coin hoard and metalwork from, 107, 147, 148; bosses from, 151; brooches from, 150, 151; pendants from, 94, 95, 147, 148, 150, 153; ring from, 147.
Hoof, Hans van, *see* Wechon.
Hope, Sir William St. John, on Royal Funeral Effigies, cited, 159, 162, 166, 168.
Horse-trappings and mounts, Källby, 100, 104.
Hoven (Norway), sword-handle from, 104, 105, 153.
Howgrave-Graham, R. P., 'The Earlier Royal Funeral Effigies', by, 159–69.
Howletts (Kent): belt plate from, 38, 42, 48, 65, associated objects, 38, 48; quoit brooches from, 31–32, 34, 35, 36, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 54, 56 *n.*, 60, 66, 70; bucket from, 47; cemetery, 48; francisca plate from, 38–39, 43; pottery bottle from, 32, 48.
Human masks used in decoration, 31, 32, 34, 39, 42, 59, 60, 62, 63, 66, 67.
Hunter, William, coin collection, 114, 115.
Hunterston (Scotland), brooch from, 150.
Hyde (Herts.), property of Ralph Rowlett, 4.

Ibba, moneyer, 117.
Icklingham (Suffolk): buckle-plate from Mitchell's Hill, 70; strap-ends from, 56 *n.*, 121.
Igelösa (Skane, Sweden): brooch from, 105; coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108.
Indre Bö (Norway), brooch from, 67.
Ingleton (Yorks.), sword-pommel from Scales Moor, 105.
Ingot, gold, from Trewhiddle, 76, 86, 96.
Iron objects inlaid with wire, *see under* Wire.
Isabella of France, Queen of Richard II: proxy marriage of, 9 *n.*, 10; death of, 2, 14.
Isenbüttel (Lr. Saxony), gold chain from, 93.
Ixworth (Suffolk): strap-end from, 55, 121.

James I, King: funeral effigy of, 168; leg from funeral effigy of, 160; wig, beard, and eyebrows purchased for effigy of, 163.
Jankuhn, Prof., cited, on swords, 130, 132, 134, 137.
Janssens, M., cited, on pattern-welding, 128.
Jenyngs:
  Genealogy of family of, 25–27.
  Alice (Spencer): wife of Sir John Jenyngs the younger, 2, 3 *n.*, 25, 26; death of, 3.
  Anne (Brounker), wife of Sir John Jenyngs the elder, 25.
  Barnard: property bequeathed by, including chain and covered cup decorated with harts, 3, 25; will of, 25.
  Dorothy (Bulbeck): widow of Sir John Jenyngs the elder, 2, 3, 25, 26; property bequeathed to, 3; re-marriage to John Latch, 3; death of, 3; will of, 3, 26.
  Elizabeth (Rowlett), 1st wife of Barnard, 3, 25.
  Elyn, 2nd wife of Barnard, property including a chain with a hanging hart bequeathed to, 3, 25; will of, 25.
  Joan (Brounker), wife of Ralph Jenyngs, 25.
  Sir John the elder: grandson of Barnard Jenyngs, 3; son of Ralph Jenyngs, 25; property of Rowlett family inherited by, 3; details of property left by, 3 *n.*–4 *n.*
  Ralph, son of Barnard, father of Thomas and grandfather of Sir John the elder, property of, 3 *n.*, 25; will of, 25.
  Thomas son of Ralph, property bequeathed to, 3 *n.*, 25.
  Vere (Palmer), wife of Thomas Jenyngs, 2.
  William, Dean of Gloucester, covered cup decorated with harts bequeathed to, 3, 25.
Jewels: Alfred, 95, 107, 144, 154; Minster Lovell, 95, 107.
Joan, wife of Edward the Black Prince, white hind badge of, 16.
John the Baptist, St.: figure of, on Wilton Diptych, 21; lamb of, 16; perhaps depicted in painting, 20; reference to, in tomb inscription of Richard II, 20.
'Jutish Style A, The. A Study of Germanic Animal Art in Southern England in the Fifth Century A.D.', by Mrs. Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, 29–74; acknowledgements, 72; bibliography, 73–74; continental origins, 59–69; relation to Anglo-Saxon style, 69–71; discussion of British or Germanic origin, 52–59; of Scandinavian origin, 67–69; summary, 71–72. Characteristics of, 40–48; use of colour, 41; corpus of material, 30–40; dating evidence, 47, 48–52; distribution of examples, 44, 45–47, 51–51; symmetrical placing of animal ornament, 42.

Kaarina (Ristimäki, Finland), sword-hilt from horseman's grave, 130, 134, 139.
Källby (Sweden), horse-trappings and mounts from, 100, 104, 105.
Kalumäki (Finland), sword from, 136, 139.
Kärlich (Rhineland), buckle from, 60.
Katherine of Valois, Queen of Henry V: death-mask of, 163, 164; funeral effigy of, 164.
Kaupang (Norway): finds of metalwork at, 155, 157; sword from, 104, 139.
Kells (co. Meath): Book of, *see* Manuscripts; Crozier, niello found in, 144.
Kendrick, Sir Thomas, cited: on Anglo-Saxon art, 101, 102, 151, 152; on Anglo-Saxon metalwork, 29, 30, 50, 51, 52, 70.
Killarney (co. Kerry), brooch from, 99.
Killucan (co. Westmeath), brooch from, 99.
Kingsholm (Glos.), strap-end from, 121.
King's Langley (Herts.), favourite residence of Richard II, 4, 19.
Kirkoswald (Cumberland), brooch from, 94, 95, 102, 151, 152.
Kitson:
  Katherine, *see* Spencer.
  Margaret (Donnington), wife of Sir Thomas, 26.
  Sir Thomas, will of, 26.
Knafahólar (Keldur, Iceland), sword from, 104.
Knightley:
  Sir Richard, will of, 26.
  Susan, *see* Spencer.
Königsberg (Germany), sword from R. Pregel near, 139.
Krefeld Gellup (Germany), strap-end from, 49 *n.*
Kremsmünster (Austria), the Tassilo chalice at, *see* Tassilo.

Kunlepa (Esthonia), sword from, 136, 139.

Lackford (Suffolk), pot from, 71.
Lakenheath (Suffolk), strap-end from, 121.
Langlo (Norway), brooch from, 66, 67.
Lansdown (Somerset), strap-end from, 121.
Lark, R. (Suffolk), sword from, 71.
Lasko, P. E., cited, on mount from Whitby, 95.
Latch, John, marriage to Dorothy Lady Jenyngs, 3.
Lawrence, 'Mr.', and Fredrik his mate, head for Elizabeth of York's effigy carved by, 165.
Leeds, E. T., cited: on Anglo-Saxon archaeology, 68; on metalwork with animal decoration, 29, 30, 46, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 61, 69, 70, 71.
Leer (Holland), sword from R. Ems near, 139.
Leicester (Leics.), strap-end from, 56 *n.*
Leiden (Holland), sword in Museum at, 132 *n.*, 137, 157.
Lembeck (Germany), sword-hilts perhaps at cemetery of, 139 *n.*
Lievens ('Liffens'), Jan, portrait of Charles I by, 2.
Lil, moneyer, 118, 119.
Lilla Harg (Ostergotland), boss from, 61.
Lilla Howe (Yorks.), gold roundels, strap-ends, etc., from, 150, 151.
Lilla Jøred (Ostergotland), beaker fragment from, 62, 63.
Lincoln (Lincs.): silver hanging bowl from R. Witham at, 151, wood block illustrating, 151, 152; sword from R. Witham at, 104, 153.
Lindisfarne Gospels, *see* Manuscripts.
Litlyngton, Thomas, Richard II's painter, 7.
Logierait (Perths.), cross-slab at, 149.
London: dolphin brooch from, 50; strap-ends from, 121. Fetter Lane, sword from, 140–5, 156, 157. London Bridge, images of Richard II, Isabella of France and shields of their arms carved on, 5. Middle Temple, coin hoard, 112. St. Mary-at-Hill, coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108. St. Paul's Cathedral, image of St. Paul made for, 11 *n.* Tower of: St. John's Chapel, funeral ceremonies of Elizabeth of York in, 162, 165; figure of St. Michael in Byward Tower, 16. *See also* Westminster.
Louis the Pious, coins of, 109, 119.
Lucca (Italy), coin of Offa copied for Charlemagne at, 152.
Ludger, St., chalice of, 92.
Lullingstone (Kent): bowl from, 53; buckle from villa, 50 *n.*
Lydney (Glos.), buckle from, 50 *n.*
Lyminge (Kent): penannular brooch from, 39, 40, 47, 48, 52; saucer brooch from, 39.
Lyngby (Denmark), bracteate from, 66.
Lytton:
  Helen, daughter of Sir Robert, *see* Brocket.
  Sir Robert, will of, 26.

Maarhuizen, gem. Winsum (Holland), 135, 136, 139.
Maninc, moneyer, 118.
Manna, moneyer, 118.
Mannheim (Germany), sword-hilt from R. Rhine at, 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 144, 154, 156, 157.
Manuscripts: Beaufort Hours, 15. Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, chalices illustrated in, 90. British Museum MS. Royal I E VI, 142. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 286, chalice illustrated in, 90. Cotton Vespasian A I, 141. Durrow, Book of, 155. Echternach, 141. Kells, Book of, animal and bird ornament in, 141, 148–9, 156. Lindisfarne Gospels, bird ornament in, 141. Rome Gospels, 141. Sherborne Missal, 15. St. Petersburg Gospels, 141. Stockholm Codex Aureus, 141, 145. Tiberius C. II, 142. Ada School, 154. Canterbury School, animal forms in, 94, 100–1. Lichfield School, 100 *n.*, 101. Merovingian, 100–1.
Marchélepot (France), bucket from, 60.
Markshall (Norfolk), pot from, 71.
Mary the Virgin, St.: focal point of Wilton Diptych, 20; special devotion to, urged upon England, 19–20; painting of Britain being offered to, 20.
Mary I, Queen, funeral effigy of, 168.
Maryon, Sir Herbert, on objects from Trewhiddle, cited, 80.
Masks, *see* Death-masks *and under* Human.
Master of the Sarre Quoit Brooch, 44, 45, 46, 54, 58.
Mawgan Porth (Cornwall), excavations at, 117.
Medallion of Emperor Gratian, 59.
Meilby (Jutland), brooch from, 64.
Mellby (Sweden), sword-fittings from, 66.
Meols (Cheshire), strap-ends from, 121.
Méziere, Order of the Passion of, 12, 13, 19, 22.
Miannay (France), bucket from, 60.
Michael, St., figure of, in Byward Tower, Tower of London, 16.
Middleton, John, physician to Richard II, 13.
Mildenhall (Suffolk), silver treasure from, 57.
Mildmay, Martha, daughter of Sir Walter, *see* Brounker.
Milton-next-Sittingbourne (Kent), brooch from, 69; lead coffin from, 59.
Minster Lovell (Oxon.) Jewel, 95, 107.
Molesworth, H. D., on Henry VII's effigy, cited, 166–7.
Mone (Sweden), gold collar from, 67.
Moneyers: Beagmund, 118; Biarnmod, 118; Biornmod, 118; Brid, 118; Burnwald, 117, 118; Deneheah, 115, 117; Diormod, 112; Dunun, 118; Eanbald, 112, 117; Eanwulf, 117; Ethelhere, 118; Ethelmod, 118; Ethelwald, 119; Franbald, 113, 118; Ibba, 117; Lil, 118, 119; Maninc, 118; Manna, 118; Monna, 117; Oba, 112, 118; Sigestef, 118; Torhtmund, 118; Werheard, 117; Wilheh, 118; Wunhere, 118.
Monna, moneyer, 117.
Montague, John, earl of Salisbury, Hyde the property of, 4.
Morken (Rhineland), helmet from grave at, 60.
Mosnaes (Norway), filigree ornament found at, 95, 152.
Moulds, fragments of, from Rockcliffe, Dalbeattie, 99 *n.*
Mounts (excluding sword-mounts): Bidford-on-Avon, 38, 42; Burghead, 80, 87, 104; Kälby, 100, 104, 105; Trewhiddle, 76–81, 86–88, 99, 102, 103, 105; Whitby, 95, 151 *n.*
Muizen-les-Malines (Brabant): brooches from, 156; sword from, 156.

Naegling, Beowulf's sword, 126.
National Portrait Gallery, portraits in: Anne of Denmark, 167; Elizabeth of York, 166.

Nedre Bakkene (Norway), sword from, 132, 133, 139.
Nedrebö (Norway), brooch from, 148.
Neuberg (Austria), sword from, 130, 139.
Niello: analysis of, 144; use of, by jewellers, 137; on Fetter Lane sword, 141, 144; Trewhiddle, 76–83, 86, 96.
Nollekens, Joseph, criticism of funeral effigies by, 159.
Nordheim (Vestfold, Norway), brooch from, 65.
Nordrup (Denmark), Roman vessels in Sjaelland chieftains' graves at, 61, 63.
Normée 'La Coulisse' (France), buckle from, 60.
Norwich (Norfolk), sword pommel in Museum, 142.
Nøstegård (Norway), sword from, 132, 133, 139.
Nydam (Schleswig), find of metalwork from, 64, 65.

Oba, moneyer, 112, 118.
Occleve, *see* Hoccleve.
Offa, King of Mercia: coins of, 109, 111, 112, 117, 152, 153, 154; coin of, copied for Charlemagne, 152.
Oldcastle, Sir John, belief that Richard II was alive in 1417, 14.
Ormside bowl: 152; vine-scroll ornament on, 102.
Østby (Norway), sword from, 132, 133, 139.
Østebø (Vikedal, Norway), strap-end from, 97, 122.
Oviedo (Spain), crosses at, 150.
Oxford (Oxon.): Ashmolean Museum, finger-ring in, 146, 147, 151, 153. Christ Church Cathedral, angels on vaulting in, 23 *n.* Queen's College, symbolism of number of fellows and students, 19.

'Palace of Westminster Sword, The', by G. C. Dunning and Miss Vera I. Evison, 123–58; for details *see under* Swords.
Palmer:
  Sir James, father of Vere, Wilton Diptych acquired by Charles I through, 2.
  Vere, *see* Jenyngs.
Paris (France), sword-pommel from R. Seine at, 95, 153.
Pattern-welding, used in manufacture of sword-blades, 126–8, 137, 157.
Paul, St., image of, made for St. Paul's Cathedral, 11 *n.*
Pear wood, used for hands of Elizabeth of York's effigy, 165.
Pendants: Bifrons, 32, 41, 42, 43, 48, 70; Birka, 94; Hon, 94, 95, 147, 148, 150, 153; Trewhiddle, 76, 85–86, 93–96, 153; Wycombe, High, 94; Wye Down, 149.
Percy, Henry, 1st earl of Northumberland, belief that Richard II was alive in 1405, 14.
Periwinkle, depicted on Wilton Diptych, 22 *n.*
Perrers, Alice, Edward III's body robbed by, 161.
Peter, St., money of, from York, 110, 111.
Petersburg helmet, The, 59, 65.
Petersen, J., cited, on Viking swords, 128, 129, 131, 134.
Petöhäza (Austria-Hungary), chalice from, 90, 91.
Pins: Trewhiddle, 83–84, 86, 98, 103, 105–6; Witham, 105, 145; from Abp. Wolstan's grave, 107.
Pippin or Pepin, coin of, 109, 119.
Plantagenet, Geoffrey: broom-plant reference to, 8, 23; origin of surname, 8 *n.*
Poppo, Abp. of Trier, chalice of, 91.
Pottery:
  Bottles: Finglesham, 48; Howletts, 32, 48.
  Pots: Caistor-by-Norwich, 71; Lackford, 71; Markshall, 71.
Poupart, Charles, silversmith to Charles VI of France, 9 *n.*
Prest, Godfrey, coppersmith, 8 *n.*, 164.
Prince, Gilbert, Richard II's painter, 7.

Ragley Park (Warwicks.), brooch from, 71.
Raphael, Archangel, figure of, above entrance to Barcelona Town Hall, 22 *n.*–23 *n.*
Rashleigh:
  Sir Colman, Trewhiddle hoard given to Canon Rogers by, 75.
  Jonathan, Trewhiddle coins listed by, 109, 110, 111, 112.
  Philip, Trewhiddle hoard recorded and published by, 75, 110.
Rawlings, Miss Helen, on death of Edward III, cited, 161.
Reading (Berks.): pewter chalice found in grave at, 89; strap-end and other objects from grave at, 49 *n.*; sword from, 135–6, 139, 157, found with skeletons of man and horse, 135.
Ribchester (Lancs.), bronze boss from, 152.
Richard II, King: birth of, on feast of Epiphany, 21; legend that gifts were brought by three kings, 21 *n.*; evidence that he was bearded, 11–13; style of haircut of, 15; symptoms of ill health, 13; theory of survival after 1400, 1, 14; attempts to obtain canonization for Edward II, 16, 17, 18; benefactions to the Church, 18 *n.*; letter from, to Albert of Bavaria, 27; proxy marriage to Isabella of France, 9 *n.*, 10; gifts to and from Charles VI on the occasion of his marriage, 9, 10 *n.*–11 *n.*; the Wilton Diptych made for, 1; summary of theory of date and purpose, 24; theory of secret fraternity of supporters, 19.
  Arm-bone traditionally of, 164; effigy of, 8, 9, 12; inscription surrounding tomb of, 18, 20; figure of, in Winchester College glass, 11, 12; figure of, in Wilton Diptych, 15–16, 20, 21–22; carved head of, on Winchester College Chapel, 12; painting depicting, with Anne of Bohemia, offering Britain to the Virgin, 20; engraving of, 20; portrait of in Westminster Abbey, 12; in French illumination (the Order of the Passion), 12, 13, 15.
  Arms of, 1, 5, 6, 7, 8; broom-cod or broom-plant badge of, 7, 8–9, 15, 20 *n.*, 22, 23; collars of broom-cods worn by, 9, 23; eagle badge used by, 15, 23; white hart badge of, 1, 15, 22, 23; increasing use of, 6–8; devices marking royal plate of, 8 *n.*
Richard, earl of Cambridge, belief that Richard II was alive in 1415, 14.
Richborough (Kent): disc brooches from, 53; buckles from, 50 *n.*, 56 *n.*; knife-handles from, 55; strap-end from, 121.
Rimstad (Norway), sword from, 136, 139.
Rings, Finger: Aella, Ælla, or Ehlla's, 95; Ahlstan's, 105, 107, 108; Ethelswith's, 96, 107; Ethelwulf's, 96, 105, 107; Bp. Flambard's, 107. Amesbury, 50;

Bologna, 96, 143; Coggeshall, 147; Dorchester (Dorset), 147, 151; Faversham, 151 *n.*; Guildown, 49; Hon, 147; Oxford (Ashmolean Museum), 146, 147, 151, 153; R. Thames (Chelsea), 96, 105, 141, 143; Trewhiddle, 76, 85, 96; Wincheap, 105.
Risely (Kent), brooches from, 46, 47 *n.*
Rochester (Kent), coins minted at, 115, 116.
Rogers:
  Canon, Trewhiddle hoard given to, 75.
  J. J.: Trewhiddle coins listed by, 109, 110, 111; Trewhiddle hoard presented to British Museum by, 75, 110.
Roligheten (Vestfold), brooch from, 64.
Roman chip-carved metalwork, 56-57.
Rome (Italy), painting in English Hospice or College at, 20.
Rome Gospels, *see under* Manuscripts.
Roses, depicted on Wilton Diptych, 22.
Rosøy (Norway), sword with walrus tusk and whalebone hilt from, 136, 139.
Rowlett:
  Amphabell or Affabel, property bequeathed to Sir Ralph by, 3 *n.*; property left to, 26.
  Elizabeth, wife of Ralph, bequests to, 25.
  Elizabeth, *see* Jenyngs.
  Ralph: goldsmith, 3; will of, 25; buried in St. Albans Abbey, 25; Gorhambury and other Hertfordshire estates acquired by, 3, 4.
  Sir Ralph: property bequeathed to, 26; property left to Ralph Jenyngs by, 3; witness to will of Sir John Brocket, 26.
Rudstone (Yorks.), Roman mosaic pavement from, 58.
Rupert Cross, vine-scroll on, 102.

St. Martin des Champs (France), chalice at, 90, 91, 92, 156.
St. Ninian's Isle (Shetland Isles): hoard found in St. Ninian's Church, 144–5; sword-pommel from, 144, 145.
St. Petersburg Gospels, *see under* Manuscripts. *See also* Petersburg helmet.
Salmo, H., cited, on sword-hilts, 130.
Salmon, Mrs., wax-work of, 159.
Sanda (Sweden), sword from, 134 *n.*, 139.
Sandegaard (Denmark), bracteate from, 66.
Sarre (Kent): quoit brooch from, 30–31, 32, 35, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 54, 57, 58, 66, 68, 69, 70; cemetery, 48.
Satin, *see under* Textiles.
Scales Moor, *see* Ingleton.
Scandinavia: Roman and Gothic influences on art of, 61–69; beakers, found in graves in, 63; Roman bronze vessels, *terra sigillata*, and glassware imported into, 61–62, 63.
Scania, brooches from, 67.
Sceattas: designs on, 153; animal ornament on, 149.
Scharf, Sir George, description of the Wilton Diptych by, 1.
Scourges: Chesterford, Gt. (Roman), 92 *n.*; Guildhall (London) Museum (Roman), 92 *n.*; from Trewhiddle, 84, 92–93.
Scrope:
  3rd Lord, of Marham, collar of broom-cods forfeited by, 23.
  Sir Stephen: loyalty to Richard II, 16, 24; white hart presented to Richard II by, 16.
Sea-grass, used for stuffing cushions, pillows, etc., 163.
Seal, Ethilwald's, 107.
Seax pommels, 145.
Seine, River, *see* Paris.
Selsey (Sussex), strap-end from, 121.
Sevington (Wilts.): coin hoard and metalwork from, 107; strap-ends from, 121.
Shelwode, John, white hart kept at Windsor for Richard II by, 16.
Sherborne Missal, Crucifixion scene, treatment of hair of, and type of collar worn by figures in, 15.
Shetelig, Dr. Haakon, cited: on brooch from Telemark, 62, 63; on source of Jutish style, 67.
Shoulder-clasps from Sutton Hoo, 100, 146, 147, 148, 150.
Sibertswold (Kent), seax from, 145.
Sigestef, moneyer, 118.
Silchester (Hants), buckle from, 50 *n.*
Silver: 5th-century shortage of, 57; sheet inlay used in decoration, 30–40, 41, 43, 44, 49, 51–52, 61, 64, 67, 71; objects in carving technique, 32–33, 71; objects in chasing technique, 30–32, 71.
Sjørring (Denmark), sword from, 139.
Skara (Sweden), chalice from, 91, 92.
Skjønne (Norway), sword from, 132, 139.
Skurup (Sweden), sword-fittings from, 66.
Smith:
  Clifford, portrait of Anne of Denmark belonging to, 167.
  J. T., funeral effigies drawn by, 159.
  Reginald, cited: on box-like object from Trewhiddle, 97; on metalwork with animal decoration, 29; on pennanular brooches, 98; on Ballinaby chain, 93; on mounts from Trewhiddle, 86–87.
Smithfield tournament: white hart badge used by Richard II at, 6; gowns worn by knights and ladies at, 7, 15.
Snakes, bird-headed, *see under* Bird ornament; snake-like animals, *see* Bipeds with tails *under* Animal ornament.
Sösdala (Scania), hoard of ornamental metalwork from, 64.
Souldern (Oxon.), strap-end from, 121.
Spencer:
  Alice, *see* Jenyngs.
  Sir Brocket: pictures bequeathed to, by Alice Jennings, 3 *n.*; property bequeathed to, 26.
  Helen or Ellen (Brocket), wife of Sir Richard, 26.
  Sir John, father of Sir William, will of, 26.
  Sir John, father of Sir Richard, will of, 26.
  John, son of Sir John, property bequeathed to, 26.
  Katherine (Kitson), wife of Sir John, 26.
  Sir Richard, will of, 26.
  Susan (Knightley), wife of Sir William, 26.
  Thomas, son of Sir John, property bequeathed to, 26.
  Sir William, father of Sir John, will of, 26–27.
Speyer (Rhineland), sword from Rhine at, 132, 133, 139.

Spirdingsee (Lucknainen, E. Prussia), sword from, 129 *n.*
Spoonley Wood (Glos.) villa, buckle from, 50 *n.*
Spurs, from Welbsleben, 104.
Staurnes (Norway), brooch from, 67.
Steeple Bumpstead (Essex), boss from, 144.
Steinsvik, Hol, Lødingen (Norway): sword from, 129, 130, 132, 133–4, 136, 137, 139, 157, associated objects, 134. *See also* Hol.
Stevenston Sands (Ayrs.), strap-end from, 121.
Stirling (Stirlings.), burial of Richard II or a pretender in Black Friars church at, 14.
Stockholm (Sweden), coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108.
Stockholm Codex Aureus, *see under* Manuscripts.
Stojnik (Yugoslavia), gravestone from, 59.
Stora Ihre (Gotland), sword hilt from, 130, 134 *n.*, 139.
Stössen (Germany), helmet with vine-scroll from, 60.
Strap-ends: Late Saxon, list of, 120–2; animal ornament on, from Holland, 134; possible uses of, 97. Barrington, 97; Bifrons, 34, 35, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 53, 70; Chessell Down, 37, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48, 54, 64; Cricklade, 104, 105, 121; Dorestadt, 101, 102; Gloucester (George St.), 97 *n.*; Haillot, 49 *n.*; Hauxton Mill, 106, 121; Holywell Row, 97 *n.*; Icklingham, 56 *n.*; Ixworth, 55; Krefeld-Gellup, 49 *n.*; Leicester, 56 *n.*; Östebo, 97, 122; Reading, 49 *n.*; Talnotrie, 121, 140 *n.*, 143; Trewhiddle, 77, 81, 84, 97–98, 103, 105, 121; Whitby, 97, 106, 121.
Stratford (Warwicks.), buckle from, 50 n.
Stratton (Glos.), strap-end from, 121.
Strickland (Westmorland), brooch, 94, 105, 141, 143, 144, 148, 151.
Stycas: Northumbrian coins known as, 114, 115; found at Kirkoswald, 151.
Suffelweihersheim (Bas Rhin), sword from, 131–2, 133, 137, 139.
Suffolk, brooch from unknown location in, 69.
Sutherland (Scotland), strap-ends from, 121.
Sutton (I. of Ely), coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108.
Sutton Hoo (Suffolk): animal ornament on objects from, 102; buckle from, 97 *n.*; coin hoard and metalwork from, 107; drinking-horn from, 88; helmet from, 143; jewellery and silverware from ship-burial, 51, 57 *n.*; shoulder-clasps from, 100, 146, 147, 148, 150.
Swalwe, John, mason, 5 *n.*
Swastikas, in Anglo-Saxon ornament, 71.
'Sword, The Palace of Westminster', by G. C. Dunning and Miss Vera I. Evison, 123–58; abbreviations, 158; acknowledgements, 157; conclusion, 154–7; discovery of, and topography of site, 123–4; description, 125–8.
  Decoration: blade, 125–6; hilt, 125; scabbard, 126; black inlay, 125, 136, 137, 144; foliage scrolls, 130; pattern-welding, 125, 126–8; vine-scroll, 125.
Swords (including blades, guards, hilts, pommels, etc.), *see also* Sword, The Palace of Westminster, *above*.
  Anglo-Saxon, 139–54; Carolingian, 142; Merovingian, 130; Viking, 128–9, 142.
  Decoration: foliage, 125, 130, 135; 'gripping-beast' style, 129, 134, 136; niello, 129; pattern-welding, 126–8; wire inlay, 125, 129, 130, 132, 134.
  Aalburg (R. Meuse), 134, 139, 157; Abba's, 140 *n.*; Abingdon (formerly Wallingford), 104, 129, 153; Birka, 134 *n.*, 136 *n.*, 139; Bremen (R. Weser), 139; Burge, 134 *n.*, 139; Buxtehude, 132, 134, 139; Dolven, 104, 105, 153; Dorestad, 139; Dublin, 145; Esenhughgruppe, 139; Gävle, 134 *n.*; Gotzlow (R. Oder), 139; Grønneberg, 104, 153; Håheim, 133, 134, 139; Haithabu, 130, 132; Halle, 132, 133, 139; Hedeby, 139; Hohensaathen, 139; Hoven, 104, 105, 153; Ingleton (Scales Moor), 105; Kaarina, 130, 134, 139; Kalumäki, 136, 139; Kaupang, 104, 139; Knafahólar, 104; Königsberg (R. Pregel), 139; Kunlepa, 136, 139; R. Lark, 71; Leer (R. Ems), 139; Leiden (Museum), 132 *n.*, 137, 157; Lincoln (R. Witham), 104, 153; London (Fetter Lane), 140–5, 156, 157; Maarhuizen, gem. Winsum, 135, 136, 139; Mannheim (R. Rhine), 130, 131, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 144, 154, 156, 157; Mellby, 66; Muizen-les-Malines, 156; Naegling (Beowulf's sword), 126; Nedre Bakkene, 132, 133, 139; Neuberg, 130, 139; Norwich (Museum), 142; Nøstegård, 132, 133, 139; Østby, 132, 133, 139; Paris (R. Seine), 95, 153; Reading, 135, 139, 157; Rimstad, 136, 139; Rosøy, 136, 139; St. Ninian's Isle, 144, 145; Sanda, 134 *n.*, 139; Sjørring, 139; Skjønne, 132, 139; Skurup, 66; Speyer (R. Rhine), 132, 133, 139; Spirdingsee, 129 *n.*; Steinsvik, 129, 130, 132, 133, 136, 137, 139, 157; Stora Ihre, 130, 134 *n.*, 139; Suffelweihersheim, 131–2, 132, 137, 139; Termonde (R. Escaut), 129, 133, 136, 137, 139, 144, 154, 157; Tiikinummi, 136, 139; Vestre Grini, 132, 133, 139; Wensley, 104; Westminster, The Palace of, *see* Sword *above*; Westmorland, 104; Wierhuizen, gem. Appingedam, 135, 139; Wijk bij Duurstede, 133, 136, 139; Windsor, 95, 102, 145–51, 153.
  Scabbard Mounts; Brighthampton, 39–40, 69; Veien, 64.
Szilágy Somlyó (Hungary): brooches from, 57 *n.*, 59; medallion of Emperor Gratian from, 59.

Talnotrie (Kirkcudbrights.): coin hoard containing metalwork from, 108; strap-end from, 121, 140 *n.*, 143.
Tanner, L. E., 159.
Taplow (Bucks.): buckles and clasps from, 149; drinking-horn from, 88.
Tara (Eire): brooch, 93, 96, 99; chain attached to, 93.
Tassilo, Duke, chalice at Kremsmünster, made to order of, 90, 91, 92, 101, 102, 104, 107, 108, 134, 142, 155, 156.
Telemark (Norway): brooch from, 62; *see also* Vestre Grini.
Termonde (Belgium): sword-hilt from R. Escaut near, 129, 133, 136, 137, 139, 144, 154, 157.
Tersler (Denmark), filigree ornament found at, 95.
Textiles, satin, survival of, with royal effigies, 164, 165.
Thames, River (London, Chelsea), finger-ring from, 96, 105, 141, 143.
Theored, Bp. of London, chalices bequeathed by, 90.

Thomas, St., Holy Oil of, 23 *n.*
Thomas of Oxford: glass in New College, Oxford, made by, 11 *n.*; glass in Winchester College Chapel, including his portrait, made by, 11 *n.*
Thorsbjerg (Schleswig): belt-strip from, 61, 62; phalerae from, 61, 63; shield-boss from, 61.
Thuringia (Germany), brooches from, 48.
Tiikinummi (Finland), sword from, 136, 139.
Torel, William, bronze effigies of Henry III and Eleanor of Castile by, 168, 169.
Torhtmund, moneyer, 118.
Torrigiani, Pietro: Henry VII's funeral effigy perhaps by, 166; tomb-effigy of Henry VII by, 166.
Tower of London, *see under* London.
Towneley (Lancs.), brooch from, 147.
Tralee (co. Kerry), brooch from, 99.
Traprain Law (E. Lothian), silver treasure from, 57.
'Trewhiddle Hoard, The', by D. M. Wilson and C. E. Blunt, 75–122; acknowledgements, 75 *n.*; bibliography, 119–20; history of, discovery, etc., 75; discussion of dating, 106–8; historical background, 116–17; problems of origin, 101; discussion of origins, 101–6; theory of derivation from Merovingian MSS., 100–1.
  Ornament: 153; description of, on individual objects, 76–106; style, 153, 154; technique, 143; animal forms, on individual objects, 76–84, 95, 99–106; bird forms, 79, 105; division of area of decoration into small fields, 104; use of filigree ornament, 94–96; foliate scrolls, 80, 82; whirling floral motif, 103; niello used on objects from, 76–83, 86, 96, 143; triquetra used in ornament, 78, 79, 83, 84.
  Bead (blue glass), 84, 93.
  Belt-loops, 85.
  Box-like object, 77, 80, 82, 96–97, 103, 105.
  Brooch, 84, 86, 98–99.
  Buckle and buckle-plate, 85, 98.
  Chalice, 75, 81–82, 88–92.
  Coins: 75, 76, 107, 109–19; abbreviations, 119; collections and sales, 119; composition of hoard, 109; details of coins, 109–16; historical background, 116–17; history of coins, 117–19.
  Collar, 86.
  Finger-rings, silver, 76, 85, 96.
  Ingot, gold, 76, 86, 96.
  Mounts: perhaps from a drinking-horn, 86, 88.
    Mount (large), 76–78, 80, 86–88, 99, 103, 105.
    Mount (second), 77, 79–80, 86–88, 99, 103, 105.
    Mount (small), 77, 80–81, 86–88, 103, 105–6.
  Pendant, gold, 76, 85–86, 93–96, 153.
  Pin, 83–84, 86, 98, 103, 105–6.
  Scourge and bead, 84, 92–93.
  Strap-ends, 77, 81, 84, 97–98, 103, 105, 121.
Trichinopoly chainwork, used for scourge, 84, 93.
Triquetra: on Canterbury brooch, 156; used in ornament on objects from Trewhiddle, 78, 79, 83, 84.
Tubular object from Croydon, 36, 43, 46, 49.
Tywardreath (Cornwall), coin-hoard from, 116.

Valløby (Denmark), Roman vessels in Sjaelland chieftans' graves at, 61, 63.
Vedstrup (Denmark), brooch from, 67.
Veien (Norway), scabbard mounts from, 64.
Vere:
  Maud (de Ufford), countess of Oxford, belief that Richard II was alive in 1404, 14 *n.*
  Robert de, 9th earl of Oxford, Gorhambury, the property of, 4.
Vermand (France): fittings from Warrior grave at, 65; metalwork in Roman cemetery at, 56, 57, 58.
Vestre Grini (Telemark, Norway), sword from, 132, 133, 139.
Victoria and Albert Museum: ring from R. Thames at Chelsea in, 96; terra-cotta portrait bust of Henry VII in, 167.
Vine-scroll: appearance of, in Anglo-Saxon art, 102, 146, 156, 157; on Westminster Palace sword, 125; with pecking birds, late classical motif, 60; design of, on Gammertingen helmet, 60.
Voss, Olfert, cited on development of Scandinavian art, 64, 65.

Wake, Elizabeth, daughter of Richard, *see* Bulbeck.
Wakering, Gt. (Essex), strap-end from, 121.
Wallingford (Berks.), sword now known as the Abingdon sword, *see* Abingdon.
Wamphray (Dumfriess.), sculptured stone slab from, 155.
Washbourne, Richard, mason, 5 *n.*
Waternewton (Northants.), buckle from, 50 *n.*
Wax-work, Mrs. Salmon's, 159.
Wechon, and Hans van Hoof, hands for Elizabeth of York's effigy carved by, 165.
Welbsleben (Germany), spurs and armring from, 104.
Wensley (Yorks.), sword from, 104.
Werheard, moneyer, 117.
Werner, Prof., cited: on Scandinavian art, 59, 61, 63; on swords, 134 *n.*, 136 *n.*
Westminster Abbey: brass of Sir John Golofre in, 7 n.; funeral of Elizabeth of York in, 162, 165; portrait of Richard II in, 12; tomb and effigy of Richard II in, 8, 9, 18.
  Henry V's Chantry, drawing showing funeral effigies in, 159.
  Islip Chapel, funeral effigies and wax-figures in, 159.
  Muniment Room, 159.
  North Transept, portrait-corbel in, 169.
  St. Edward's shrine, funeral effigy of Elizabeth of York in, 159, 165.
  Undercroft Museum: funeral effigies in, 159; flooded during air-raid, 160.
Westminster Hall: Edward the Confessor's arms carved on, 5, 6; shield carved on N. porch, 14 *n.*
Westminster Jewel Tower, sword exhibited in, 123.
Westminster Palace: arms of Richard II and Edward the Confessor in windows of hall, 7–8; ornamented with arms of Edward III quartering France, 5. Sword from, found in Victoria Tower Gardens, 123-58; for details, *see under* Sword.
Westmorland, swords from, 104.
Westwell (Kent), arms of Edward the Confessor in stained glass at, 6 *n.*
Whitby (Yorks.): open-work mount from, 95, 151 *n.*; strap-ends from, 97, 106, 121.

Wierhuizen, gem. Appingedam (Holland), sword from, 135, 139.
Wijk bij Duurstede (Holland), sword from, 133, 136, 139.
Wilheh, moneyer, 118.
Wilson, D. M., and C. E. Blunt, 'The Trewhiddle Hoard', by, 75–122.
'Wilton Diptych, The—A Re-examination', by John Harvey, 1–28; acknowledgements, 24; bibliography, 1 *n.*; summary of theory, 24; little likelihood that it is a memorial picture, 13–14, 20 *n.* St. Mary the Virgin the focal point of, 20; Richard II doing homage to the Holy Child, 21–22; eleven angels depicted in, 16, 19, 22; St. John the Baptist's lamb, 16. Costume and coiffure, 15; heraldic animals, 16; heraldic badges, 15–16; flowers and plants in, 10, 16, 22–23.
Wincheap (Kent), ring from, 105.
Winchester (Hants): seax from, 145.
  College: symbolism of number of fellows, masters, and scholars, 19; College chapel glass, figure of Virgin in, 11, plants depicted in, 16, figures in Jesse tree in, 11, Richard II before the Baptist in, 11, 12; carved head representing Richard II on, 12; stone figure of Virgin on outer gate of College, 11.
Windsor (Berks.): rooms in the Old Manor painted by Littyngton for Richard II, 7; chapel of the Old Manor, 19; white hart kept for Richard II in Forest of, 16; sword-pommel from, 95, 102, 145–51, 153.
Wire: iron objects inlaid with, 49, 61, 64, 68, 125, 129, 130, 132, 134; silver inlaid in bronze, 136.
Witham, R. (Lincs.), pins from, 105, 145; *see also* Lincoln.
Wittenham, Long (Oxon.), brooch from, 70.
Wolstan, Abp. of York, pin from grave of, 107.
Woodeaton (Oxon.), strap-end from, 121.
Wraxall, N. (Wilts.), buckle from villa, 50 *n.*
Wreuk, Thomas, mason, 5.
Wunhere, moneyer, 118.
Wycombe, High (Bucks.), pendant from, 94.
Wye Down (Kent), pendant from, 149.
Wykeham, William of, carved head perhaps of, on Winchester College Chapel, 12.
Wynford, William, mason, 11 *n.*

York (Yorks.), strap-end from, 121.
Youlgrave (Derbys.), strap-ends from, 121.

050A